TRANSLATIONS
OF
CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

THE DIALOGUE OF PALLADIUS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF CHRYSOSTOM

HERBERT MOORE

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TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

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SERIES I

GREEK TEXTS

THE DIALOGUE OF PALLADIUS

TRANSLATIONS OF CHRISTIAN LITERATURE . SERIES I
GREEK TEXTS

THE DIALOGUE OF PALLADIUS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF CHRYSOSTOM

By HERBERT-MOORE

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INTRODUCTION

I. The Subject of the Memoir

This treatise, obviously written by one who had full information, and was an eye-witness of many of the incidents which he narrates, is our best authority for the life of St. Chrysostom; we have other "lives," of no great value, by Theodore, Bishop of Trimithus (*c.* 680), George, Bishop of Alexandria (*c.* 620), "Leo the Emperor" (*c.* 900), and an anonymous writer; and accounts contained in the fifth-century Church Histories of Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret and Philostorgius, the theologian Photius (*c.* 850), and the pagan writer Zosimus, besides a few other references in ancient authors. From these various sources we are able to draw not only a record of Chrysostom's life, but also a picture of the man himself; and, incidentally, to gather light upon the life of the Church in his days, and information as to uses and observances, some of which have fallen into desuetude, while others are still practised among us.

The more carefully we study his life, the more lovable the man appears, and the more conscious we are of our debt to him, for the noble standard of devotional, ministerial and intellectual Christian life which he so fearlessly, faithfully and outspokenly maintained,[1] and bequeathed to us; and the more admirable seems his life, by contrast with the lives of many of his contemporaries, pagan and, alas! even Christian. But he had the defects of his good qualities. "He was a man who in his enthusiasm for virtue was over-bitter, and given to wrath rather

[1] See especially pp. 154, 113.

than to modest dealings; from the uprightness of his life he took no thought for the future, and from his simplicity of character acted without deep consideration. He used unmeasured freedom of speech with those whom he encountered, and as a teacher greatly benefited his hearers; but was considered by those who did not know him to be arrogant in his behaviour." [1]

The Dialogue shows us the grounds on which these criticisms were based, and the author offers various answers to them. "He had qualities admirable in a man of action; what could be more precious than his generous and sanguine enthusiasm? He lacked the command over himself, the coolness and tact, of a politician; we shall often notice this; but if he had possessed these, would he have been Chrysostom?" (Puech).[2]

It is impossible here to deal with Chrysostom's literary work, which is more abundant than that of any other Greek Church writer. While at Antioch he preached, chiefly during Lent, series after series of homilies, or expositions of Scripture, in which he dealt with most of the books of the Bible. "I think," writes Isidore of Pelusium, "that if the divine Paul had wished to expound his own writings, he would not have spoken otherwise than this famous master; so remarkable is his exposition for its contents, beauty of form, and propriety of expression." Suidas, in the tenth century, says: "Since the world began, no one has possessed such gifts as an orator: he alone merited the name of Golden-mouthed [3] and divine orator." Most of these homilies were taken down by shorthand writers, and apparently corrected by himself. There are also extant a large number of sermons on special subjects, the most famous of

[1] Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 3. Sozomen has a similar judgment.

[2] It is interesting to consider how far he was carried away by the malign influence of Archdeacon Serapion upon his impetuous disposition.

[3] "Chrysostomos."

which are the twenty-one "On the Statues," delivered at Antioch in 387, when the city was threatened with destruction by the Emperor, in punishment for a disloyal outbreak; and many treatises on moral and theological subjects, including his splendid work "On the Priesthood." Most of his remains are of the period of his life spent at Antioch; at Constantinople he lacked the time, if not the opportunity, for such highly intellectual work.[1] A considerable number of spurious works are also attributed to him, including some which were probably forged, or at least misreported, by his enemies, in order to enrage the Empress against him.

II. The Teaching of the Dialogue

Chrysostom's career is one more exemplification of the perennial conflict between the Church and the world. The Church is to act as the salt of the earth, the city set on an hill, the light of the world, the temple of the Living God; her ideals will always be too high even for the saints to attain, but it is the few who reach forth unto those things which are before that raise the average attainments of mankind. Yet she must not break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax, by pitching her requirements too high for the practical use of the ordinary man living in the world, and condemning things which God hath not condemned. She may neither make the heart of the righteous sad, nor strengthen the hands of the wicked, by promising them life.

Thus the problem before the Church at all times is to steer her way between the two extremes of undue severity and compliant subservience. Hence men of different temperaments will form different judgments upon Chrysostom's career. One temperament is all for severity, sometimes with the highest motives, sometimes, unconsciously it may be, other-

[1] The Homilies on Acts, the Psalms and the Epistles to the Colossians and Thessalonians are of this period.

wise; it demands asceticism in life, rigour in doctrine, strictness in the enjoyment of the pleasures of the world. Another, with high or (again perhaps unconsciously) with low motives, thinks that men may best be won by being content with a low standard, with an eye to the possibilities of the multitude, rather than of the few; it seeks to teach that all worldly things are gifts of God, richly given us to enjoy. The first condemns the second as truckling to the world; the second looks upon the first as a dreamer of vain dreams. The first rebukes out of season as well as in season; the second marvels at his want of tact.

There can be no doubt which is the point of view taken in this Dialogue. Records of events which so deeply stirred the hearts of men are naturally coloured by the prejudices of their writers; it is hard to believe that all the denunciations of Chrysostom's enemies contained in the treatise were truly deserved. The strong common sense shown in Chrysostom's writings, though sometimes obscured by extravagance of expression and ignorance of economic laws, in regard to the riches, the pomps and the vanities of the world, generally preserved him from the bitterness with which his disciple denounces them. But those who fall short of our author's ideal have "leaped upon the ministry," dealt deceitfully with the word of God, and perverted the Christian teaching. No language is too strong; the priest who has not the virtues of the monk is worthy only of a company of satyrs, or a priesthood of Dionysus. True, "the sword could not be blunt, or the bold word be left unspoken," and Chrysostom did indeed "lift up his voice more clearly than a trumpet." Yet in spite of Palladius' defence of Chrysostom's zeal, it is difficult to rise from the study of the various records without forming the conclusion that in regard to Eudoxia he spake unadvisedly with his lips; it seems impossible to doubt that the charges of comparing her publicly to Jezebel and Herodias

were founded on fact. Because his eloquence had stirred the populace to reform, and he had the support of many warm friends, he thought himself, like Savonarola in later days, strong enough to attack her; and the shining of his light in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation was extinguished for ever. Was he right or wrong? We answer the question according to our respective temperaments. Yet whatever be our judgment, we know that the world does, after all, respect high ideals, and unconsciously is raised by them, though it may seem to go on its own way, and prefer to join in the censure upon the outspoken tongue. Chrysostom's life and death were not in vain.

So far as we can judge, making all allowances for the prejudices of our author, Theophilus' motives were not good, but evil. Chrysostom, like Cranmer, appealed to an œcumenical council, which never was held, and never can be held. "This world is a wrestling-ground," and Palladius sees that there is no such rough-and-ready way to solve our problems. We are come to the general assembly of the first-born, which are written in heaven; but we are also come to God, the Judge of all.

But the world is not only a spiritual force, seductive and attractive, continually tending to drag the ideal down to its own level. It has also its coercive power; its rulers bear the sword, and can help forward or restrain the work of the Church. Its good-will may be won by "tables" or by "flattery," but always with disastrous results. We find Chrysostom and the monks, no less than Theophilus and Atticus, appealing to the civil power, and using it, not as an impartial judge between conflicting parties, but as a means of forwarding their respective views of the doctrine and discipline of the Church. But Chrysostom found at last that the sword borne by the temporal power is two-edged. Theophilus' party gained the upper hand, by a dexterous use of the selfish passions which animate rulers and subjects

alike; and the Church never regained her position as a power for righteousness. No check was left upon the absolutism of the Emperor, henceforth supreme in Church and State. No Ambrose said to him, "Thou hast imitated the guilt of David; imitate him also in thy penance;" no Hildebrand could raise the swan-like cry, "I have loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile." But as the world advances in its conceptions of the worth of the individual, and of his rights and liberties, absolutism becomes impossible, and the long-pent-up forces at last break out in revolution, the more savage in proportion to the repression of the past. "Though the wheels of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small." Our author, like other early historians, may or may not have been right in attributing various disasters to the Divine wrath at the judicial murder of Chrysostom; we see God's Hand in greater things than these. A meeting of forty discontented bishops in a suburb, fourteen hundred years ago, may seem of small importance to us; but it was one of the first steps to the placing of the Church, like the State, under the heel of the Emperors—the conception which has prevailed through the centuries in the Eastern Church.

A certain nameless bishop is represented as paying a visit to Rome, where he has a conversation, lasting several days (p. 148), with a deacon, Theodorus, who has heard only one side of the story, emanating from Chrysostom's enemies, and wishes to know the truth, both as to the facts, and as to the cavils at Chrysostom's personal character, embodied in the charges brought against him at The Oak. Other persons are present during the discussion (pp. 6, 60, 119, 165), one of whom joins in for a moment; and the final result is that Theodorus rejects the disparaging accounts he has received, and utters an eulogy upon the martyred saint. The supposed date of the Dialogue is shortly after Chrysostom's death, as the news of it which has reached the deacon needs confirmation (p. 33).

The events referred to in the Dialogue may be arranged in historical order thus :—

A.D.		PAGE
344–347.	Chrysostom born at Antioch	37
	His education	37
370.	Baptized	38
373.	Enters monastery near Antioch	38
381.	Ordained deacon at Antioch	39
386.	Ordained priest at Antioch	40
398 (Feb. 26).	Ordained bishop at Constantinople	42
	Reforms in the Church and in the city	44 ff.
399.	Healing of the schism at Antioch	50
400.	Revolt of Gainas	122
	Eusebius' accusation of Antoninus	117 ff.
401 (Jan.).	Visit to Ephesus	125
	Deposition of six bishops	127
	Theophilus' condemnation of Origenism	54
402.	Arrival of the monks at Constantinople	58
403.	The Synod of The Oak	65 ff.
	First expulsion of Chrysostom	73
	Theophilus' intrigues	74 ff.
404 (Easter—April 16).	Tumult in the Church	81
	Chrysostom's letter to Innocent	10 ff.
	Attempt upon his life	177
(June 20).	Second expulsion	85 ff.
	Burning of the Church	88
	Reception of the news at Rome	21 ff.
	Deputation of Western Bishops	28 ff.
	Cruel treatment of Chrysostom's supporters	174 ff.
(Sept.).	Arrival at Cucusus	90
407 (June).	Removal to Pityus	94
(Sept. 14).	Death	96

Accounts are introduced of Olympias (p. 150), of Porphyrius (p. 133 ff.) and of various monks (p. 145). The charges brought against Chrysostom which are

met are those of eating alone (pp. 98, 112), of deposing sixteen bishops (p. 116), of excessive outspokenness (p. 160), of personal attacks upon individuals (p. 163), and of haughtiness and insolence towards clergy (p. 165). The author also moralizes at great length upon various subjects, which will be found in the General Index.

III. The Author

The treatise as it stands is anonymous, but it is generally attributed to Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis. Its present title is " An historical dialogue of Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, held with Theodorus, Deacon of Rome, concerning the life and conversation of the blessed John, Bishop of Constantinople, the Golden-mouthed." And in the margin the words are added, " In other (copies) it is written, Bishop of Aspona."

Thus the title represents, not that Palladius of Helenopolis, or of Aspona, is the writer of the treatise, but that he is the nameless bishop who takes the chief part in the Dialogue. Yet this is nowhere stated. He is described simply as a member of John's synod (pp. 7, 66), from the east (p. 6), though not of Constantinople (p. 150), who had suffered on his behalf (p. 173). Nor can it be intended to identify the bishop with Palladius; it is asserted that it is the bishop's first visit to Rome (p. 6), yet within a few pages (p. 25) that Palladius of Helenopolis had been one of the first who brought to Rome the news of the troubles. He is represented as an old man (p. 33), while Palladius was not forty-five years old at the time of Chrysostom's death. There is nothing except the title to suggest that the interlocutor is Palladius, who is always spoken of in the third person—a fact which some have supposed to forbid the idea of his being the author. The same argument would show that Boswell was not the author of the *Life of Johnson*. In fact, it is quite clear that the bishop of the Dialogue is an entirely

imaginary person. Yet George tells us that he has made extracts from "the Dialogue of Bishop Palladius with Theodore," without naming his diocese; Theodore of Trimuthus also regards him as the bishop of the Dialogue. Neither of these writers had better information than we possess; they simply accepted the statement of the title as we have it.

Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis (Drepanum, in Bithynia), is known to us as the author of the *Lausiac History*, an English translation of which, by W. K. Lowther Clarke, is published in the present Series; this consists of a number of brief biographies or anecdotes of worthies, chiefly monks, whom he had known, or of whom he had heard, during his life as a monk in the desert, or in the course of his travels. The Introduction to this work states that it was compiled for the same purpose of moral instruction which is alleged for the Dialogue. He was evidently a friend of Chrysostom, who writes to him from Cucusus, asking for his prayers, and saying that he ceases not daily to be anxious for his welfare (Ep. 113).[1] The *History* shows that he was consecrated Bishop of Helenopolis after leaving the desert, in the year 400, "having become embroiled in the disturbance connected with the blessed John";[2] the Dialogue gives us the account of his journey to Ephesus (p. 125 ff.), of his visit to Rome (p. 25), his voyage to Constantinople (p. 29), and his exile to Syene (pp. 174, 178). On his return, he lived for two years in Galatia, and (in 417), as Socrates[3] informs us, he was translated as bishop to Aspona, in Galatia. Two years later he wrote his *Lausiac History*, and some time between 420 and 430 he died.

[1] The statement in *D.C.B.*, that John sent his "grateful thanks" to Pinianus, Palladius' host at Rome (*L. H.*, lxi. 5), is incorrect. The thanks are sent (Chrys. *Epp.* 157–160) to the four bishops of the delegation. The letters and the *History* both confirm the accounts given in the Dialogue of the visit to Rome and its sequel.

[2] Pall., *L. H.*, xxxv. 12.

[3] vii. 36.

IV. The Treatise

The only manuscript copy of the treatise appears to be one of the eleventh century (Bigot in error says the seventh) in the Medicean Library at Florence; the *Life of Chrysostom* by George contains copious extracts from the work, by which our text may be checked. It was first edited, with a Latin translation, by Emeritus Bigot, in 1680. It is written in late Greek, many words being used in senses unknown to classical authors, and grammatical mistakes are frequent. The historical order of events is disregarded, as it is the chief object of the author, not so much to write a biography, as to set forth an ideal, to stimulate his readers to follow the good example of the saint, and to warn them against improperly seeking the priesthood (p. 173).

It is cast in the form of a dialogue, a recognized method of presenting a moral treatise. Chrysostom's famous work *On the Priesthood* is so written; the "liberal education"—of which Palladius both here and in the *Lausiac History* speaks with admiration—which he had received certainly included the dialogues of Plato, and it was natural to him to use this vehicle of thought. Palladius' love for his master led him to follow his example; but he had not his knowledge of Plato, or his ability, and at times the Dialogue is somewhat wearisome, and the form unsuitable to the subject. He cannot do two things at once—give a memoir of a good man, and compile a moral treatise; when he introduces long accounts of historical incidents, and, above all, the letter to Innocent (p. 10), he makes a wide departure from the methods followed in the Platonic dialogues which have a similar purpose to his own, such as the *Apology of Socrates* and *Crito*. We forget that we are reading a dialogue, and have a sense of annoyance when the deacon interrupts with his jejune questions and remarks.

The titles of ancient writings are frequently

unreliable. I take it as probable that something of this sort occurred; the original heading was simply "An historical dialogue of Palladius"—that is, "by Palladius." Some copyist, noticing that the chief interlocutor was a bishop, and that "Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis," was mentioned in the treatise, supposed that the indication of authorship was meant to identify the imaginary character in the Dialogue, and took upon himself to add the rest. Then a later scribe, who knew that Palladius, the author of the *History*, had been translated to Aspona, inserted the correction. The title "Golden-mouthed," at least, is unquestionably an addition; it took the place of "John" in common parlance at a later time—about the middle of the fifth century. This addition casts suspicion upon the rest of the heading. But why should Palladius of Helenopolis have been picked out as the interlocutor from all the Eastern bishops mentioned, unless there was a tradition, or more probably written evidence in the heading as it then stood, specially connecting a Palladius with the treatise, not as interlocutor, but as author? There certainly was such a tradition; in a list of eighteen persons who wrote on the life of Chrysostom, contained in a "very ancient codex" examined by Petavius, "Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis," is included; Photius says that "Palladius was a bishop, and wrote of Chrysostom's doings in the form of a dialogue."

Palladius was by no means an uncommon name at the time; Dom Butler finds eleven persons who bore it. If the author was named Palladius, the question arises: Was this Palladius the Bishop of Helenopolis, the author also of the *Lausiac History*, or another man of the same name? Bigot goes so far as to suggest that another Palladius succeeded the *Lausiac* author at Helenopolis, and wrote the Dialogue.

The learned Benedictine, Dom Cuthbert Butler, Abbot of Downside Abbey, to whom we owe an

edition of the *Lausiac History* (Cambridge, 1904) which for accurate scholarship and minute research ranks with the finest works of the kind ever issued, forms the conclusion that both writings have the same authorship (in his monograph *Authorship of the Dialogus de Vita Chrysostomi*, Rome, 1908). Bardenhewer says [1] that "the author of the *Lausiac History* is easily identified with the biographer of Chrysostom," though, for reasons which he does not give, he adds that "he must not be confounded with the Bishop of Helenopolis." He had not the advantage of reading Dom Butler's work, which shows conclusively that the *Lausiac History* was written by this bishop.

Abbot Butler first weighs the evidence of style, and admits that there is a wide difference, not only in vocabulary, but also in use of phrases and manner of diction generally. We know that an author is usually rather proud of a telling word or phrase, and is apt to repeat it again and again; and every one has little tricks of expression, which are apt to occur all through his various works. About seventy words in Dom Butler's Index appear in the Dialogue; but many even of these are common in Patristic literature, and a great many curious words, as well as a great many characteristic expressions and phrases, are found in the one, not in the other. Mr. Clarke remarks that a distinguishing feature of Palladius' style is his incessant use of the particle οὖν; this is not the case in the Dialogue. The Dialogue abounds in grammatical mistakes; the author continually forgets the construction with which he began one of his long sentences, and changes the subject in its course. Few such errors occur in the simpler narratives of the *History*.[2] The Dialogue has many more quotations from Scripture, even in proportion to its length (219, as against 50). This is partly because

[1] *Patrology* (Shahan's Transl.), p. 381.

[2] But cf. Pall., *L. H.*, Prologue, thirty-eight lines without a full-stop.

in the non-historical portions the author is justifying Chrysostom's actions by scriptural precedent; but while the quotations in the *History* are brief, in the Dialogue they are sometimes very lengthy. Only eight are common to both treatises, though in two other cases words from the same context are quoted to the same effect.

On the other hand, Butler tells us that Dr. Zöckler speaks of "the essential similarity of style," [1] and that Dr. Preuschen considers the dissimilarity not sufficient to disprove common authorship. The reader of one constantly meets with strange words, or uses of words, or phrases, which recall the other; he feels that the writer who devised, or appropriated, one set of words or expressions was capable of doing so with the other. If we do not find so many "tricks of expression" as we should expect, we certainly find a large number.

Butler prints side by side thirteen such noteworthy phrases, showing a remarkable amount of similarity. I have collected about seventy more, which may be found through the key-words given in my Index I.; many other verbal coincidences might be added. Further, Butler brings out a still more striking point: that both authors (if they be two) use the same expressions about the same persons and things. I think that any reader who takes the trouble to compare, not only the words and usages of words, but the phrases and passages in which they occur, in the respective treatises, will see how unlikely it is that two separate authors should have used so many identical expressions and descriptions. Even one who does not know Greek will agree that so many characteristic phrases occurring alike in *Coriolanus* and in *Cymbeline* would be a strong argument for identity of authorship.

Style, however, is largely a matter of taste; Abbot Butler's scholarly instinct leads him to attach more

[1] This is especially noticeable in the passages in the Dialogue which deal with the life of monks, the subject of the *History*. Dr. Reitzenstein agrees with Dr. Zöckler.

weight to the comparative use of Scripture texts. In both treatises the quotations are made freely, more particularly in the Dialogue, variations being introduced which are not found in any existing MS. It must not be supposed that ancient writers habitually "verified their references." There was no Authorized Version in those days, and the discovery of a number of passages in the cumbrous roll-volumes of manuscript Scriptures, undivided into chapters and verses, without the help of a concordance, would require great time and trouble. We have to compare the use of Scripture by ancient writers with that of a preacher, rather than with that of a writer, of to-day.

But we know that the monks, of whom Palladius was one, devoted much of their time to committing the sacred writings to memory (pp. 131, 149); many knew whole books by heart (Pall., *L. H.*, xi., xxvi., xxxvii.). Quotations may thus be regarded as tolerably well representing MS. texts; at least, it is generally more or less clear when a variation is due to defective memory, when to difference in the original documents. Thus our author gets into trouble over his quotation from Ezek. xxxiv., in which he evidently trusted to his memory; the two long passages from Deut. xxxiii. and Ezek. ix. present but slight variations from the text, and one of these (Deut. xxxiii. 16, 17) is of such a nature as to suggest that it was found in the text the author used.

Dom Butler points out that in both treatises St. Matt. xi. 18 is combined with St. Matt. xxi. 32, and that in each case the quotation is prefaced with "in reproach." Also that St. Mark ii. 16 is combined with St. Matt. ix. 11; both in a manner which has no MS. support or literary parallel. Both quote 1 St. John ii. 18, with the remark that "it was the last hour 400 years ago." It is almost incredible that this should be mere coincidence.

Here again I have carried Dom Butler's argument further. An examination of the O.T. quotations in the two treatises shows that where such variations

occur from the text of the LXX known as "B" (which Dr. Swete considers nearest the original version) as are obviously not due to lapse of memory, but are confirmed by MSS. which we possess, these variations are all found in one, or both, of the MSS. known as "Aleph" or "A."[1] It would certainly be strange that, with the multiplication of copies of the Septuagint which must have taken place by A.D. 400, two different writers should have stumbled upon the same texts.[2] It is specially remarkable that in one text (Ecclus. viii. 9) inaccurately quoted from memory in both treatises, exactly the same alteration of words, and exactly the same alteration of order, appears in both. Is not this just what we find in the habitual misquotations in which a preacher of to-day is found to persist?

Again, the author of the Dialogue, like Palladius of Helenopolis, has seen Egyptian temples (p. 36); he has conversed with Hierax (p. 145); he is one of the forty bishops who struggled on Chrysostom's side; he is full of admiration for monks; he knows the same people—Isidore, Ammon, Dioscorus, Chronius, Macarius, Olympias.[3] Finally, the knowledge of Palladius' doings shown by the writer is extraordinary, if he was other than Palladius himself. In four passages he gives a vivid and minute account of incidents in which "Palladius of Helenopolis" is stated to have taken part: the deputation to Constantinople (p. 29), the incidents connected with the Synod of The Oak

[1] *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, p. 31; *Oxford Helps to the Study of the Bible*, p. 25.

[2] I do not mean that the writer or writers must have possessed actual copies of either of the MSS. mentioned; there were doubtless many other copies of the original translation, with more or less numerous variations. For instance, two quotations are made—Ps. cxix. 51 and Prov. xi. 4—which are omitted in "B." Both occur in "A"; but the first, at least, must have been in many other copies, as without them the eight verses of the stanza would have been deficient.

[3] In both treatises acquaintance is shown with the writings of Evagrius, one of Palladius' companions in the desert.

(p. 66 ff.), the mission to Ephesus (p. 125 ff.), and the journey of the Eastern bishops (p. 178), which continues the narrative of the deputation. Only the account of the death-bed scene approaches these; details of this he would easily obtain. And he not only uses the same literary devices as in the *History* (such as "a soldier told me," "they say,"—p. 178—"it is said") when recording incidents of which he was an eye-witness; but once (p. 29) he forgets that he is writing anonymously, and passes, like the author of the *History*, from indirect to direct narration, as St. Luke does in the Acts. We note that in both treatises proverbs and sententious observations are frequent, and that in both an inordinate amount of space is devoted to food and drink—or abstinence from them.

It is, of course, possible that some later writer "edited" the original work. It may be fanciful to suggest that pains seem to be taken to avoid the use of the particle "therefore," as though the author, or his editor, had deliberately substituted other connecting words; the particle appears at times in several sentences together, as if the self-imposed rule had been forgotten. But we may account for the difference of style which has led some to deny to the author of the *History* the authorship of the Dialogue, by considerations of the difference of subject, the lapse of time, and the likelihood of his employment of an amanuensis.

There is no need to argue the probability that the smaller work preceded the greater, since the design of both is stated to be the same—to edify readers by setting before them high examples of the Christian life. When the author found that the brief records of the *History* proved of interest and value, he would naturally try to do the same thing on a larger scale with the life of a single man, the most eminent Christian of the day. He could not write a lengthy treatise at Syene, if only for the want of "prime parchment" (p. 173), and is not likely to have done so during his stay in Galatia, with his mind dis-

tracted by current events, and his uncertainty as to his future. The reference to Theophilus (who died in 412) on p. 190 does not necessarily imply that he was still alive; on the other hand, the mention of a collection of Chrysostom's writings, especially of his letters (p. 100), seems to demand a certain lapse of time.

Palladius wrote his *History*, as we saw, when he was about fifty-three years old. He had gone about, like Herodotus, with a notebook—mental, if not material—from which he afterwards drew his narratives and tales. Probably he had often rehearsed them in conversation, as men do, to fellow-travellers, and to little knots of friends interested in the monkish life, in the winter evenings, and wrote them down much as he had told them by word of mouth. Hence the "simple and natural air" of which Tillemont speaks. But in the Dialogue he is setting himself a more serious task. He is aiming at the standard set him by his models, Plato and Chrysostom himself; the author of a chatty volume of reminiscences naturally adopts a more grandiose style when making a solid contribution to literature. But he had not the gifts to do this successfully; he falls into the "more affected style of a man who has some taint of naughty rhetoric"[1] (Tillemont). His mind had been widened, and his vocabulary enlarged, by his intercourse with men, since the days when, as a monk, he had conned over the materials of his *History*; but the expressions which he had used of his friends were still connected with them in his mind.

But more. He had lived a hard life; after thirteen years of ascetic toil as a monk, he had travelled through Palestine, to Constantinople, visited Rome, suffered on Chrysostom's behalf, endured a trying journey to Syene, and there spent six years in exile. What had been the effect of these years of hardship upon his health, and especially upon his eyes, in the sand and glare of Egypt?

[1] Dom Butler finds some trace of this in the *History*. The seeds of naughtiness were awaiting development.

We have spoken of the kind of grammatical errors which are frequent in the Dialogue; are they not just such as might be expected to occur if a man who was more or less accustomed to writing for himself was dictating to an amanuensis? Not being able to see his sentences as they rolled from his pen, his thoughts wandering while the scribe committed them to paper, he would be very likely to fall into such mistakes. In several places where the text needs correction, the slips seem to be due to mis-hearing as much as to mis-copying; in one passage especially (p. 108) the words are thrown down almost at random, as if the reciter had gone too fast.

"My conclusion," Dom Butler is good enough to write to me, "has been accepted by the great majority of the critics, though a Dutch professor, Ængenvoort, has contested it." I venture to hope that the additional evidence which I have collected may have the same effect upon the Dutch professor as the arguments of the imaginary bishop in support of the scholarly divine whom he held in honour had upon the deacon. "But if any one can speak more truthfully," by tracing the vocabulary of the author elsewhere in Patristic literature,[1] "I will welcome him as a corrector of error and a lover of the brethren."

In any case, the author is so clearly a contemporary, and in many cases a careful eye-witness, of the events which he narrates, that his work may be regarded as a reliable authority for the life of the saint.[2]

V. The Present Edition

I have followed Bigot's text, as given by Migne (*Patr. Gr.*, vol. xlvii.), though where Migne offers a

[1] There are many parallel expressions in Isidore of Pelusium, or whose authorship something more might be said.

[2] Since this book was in print, Abbot Butler has again dealt with the question of unity of authorship, with greater fulness and detail, in an article in *The Journal of Theological Studies* for January 1921, which all Greek scholars interested in the subject should by all means study.

good emendation or conjecture, I have not scrupled to avail myself of it, without necessarily calling attention to the matter in the notes.

The notes are somewhat more full than those generally given in this series of translations. It is my hope that the attraction of St. Chrysostom's name, and the simplicity of a biography as compared with a theological treatise, may secure a wider circle of readers from among those who do not make theology and Church antiquities their special study. I have therefore given some information upon points of history and Church life which such readers may not have leisure to investigate for themselves. I have referred to other writers of the time, where their records amplify, or explain, events in the Dialogue, and given a certain number of quotations from Chrysostom's writings, to show how far the author's thoughts were directly influenced by them. Also I have given references to the *Lausiac History*—not by any means so fully as would be possible, but to keep in the reader's mind the question of authorship, by showing a few of the resemblances which justify the assignment of both treatises to the same author.

The numbers at the top of the page refer to the pages in Migne's text. I have provided headings for the chapters and for divisions within the chapters for the convenience of the English reader.

An excellent *Life of Chrysostom* was published by Dean Stephens (John Murray, 1880), which supersedes an earlier *Life* by Neander (1848). *St. Jean Chrysostome*, by Aimé Puech (Paris : Lecoffre, 1913), a slighter work, combines French insight with French grace of style and phrase, while Dom Chr. Baur has published (Louvain, 1907) a " very complete and conscientious " study of *Saint Jean Chrysostome et ses œuvres dans l'histoire littéraire.*

THE DIALOGUE OF PALLADIUS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The Sin of Self-seeking in Spiritual Things

THE gifts of God,[1] my excellent brother Theodorus, seem to me to fall into three classes. Some are common to all, and not apportioned to individuals, while others are common to all, yet apportioned. The third class consists of those which are not common to all, nor apportioned to individuals, nor unapportioned, but given as a special privilege to those to whom they have been given.

Deac. Your opening observation sounds reasonable; please tell us the kind of gifts you assign to each class.

Bish. The gifts which are essentially noble, without which life would be wretched, are common to all, and not apportioned.

Deac. For example, father?

Bish. First, the God of all, together with His

[1] The exordium is framed on the lines of Plato's *Republic*, in which some apparently irrevelant remarks lead up to the real subject. Palladius makes clear from the beginning his object in writing (p. 173), not only to tell the story of Chrysostom's life, but to encourage and warn against clerical ambition and greed (pp. 40, 87, 121, etc.), which led his enemies to bring about Chrysostom's downfall.

Only-begotten Son, and the Holy Spirit, is common to all, and not apportioned; every one who wishes can by contemplation possess Him in His entirety, without material aids.[1] Next to God, there are the divine scriptures, and the supra-mundane powers. Besides these, the sky, the sun, the moon, and all the host of stars, and the air itself, are common, and not apportioned; they are shared in their entirety by all. We need not give further illustrations of the class of unapportioned gifts. The land was at one time common to all, and unapportioned, and so were the streams of water; but since the mad craving for possessions became intensified in the souls of lovers of pleasure, the weightier elements of earth and water came to be apportioned.[2]

Deac. What you say is very clear; complete your account of the second class, that of apportioned gifts.

Bish. I will; we cannot leave the web of our subject incomplete. Well, gold, and silver, and every sort of metal, and timber, and in short every kind of raw material, are common to all, yet apportioned; for they are not at the unreserved disposal of every one who likes.

Deac. Again a very satisfactory account. I am wondering if you will not be hard put to it to demonstrate your third class, of special gifts. You laid it down, that there are some gifts which are neither common to all, nor apportioned, but are the special privilege of those who are worthy of their bestowal.

[1] As our text stands, it is God Who is "without experience of things." The meaning is, no doubt, that of Chrysostom, *de Bapt.*, xi., "There is no need to cross the sea, or traverse mountain ranges; sitting at home, with reverence and compunction, you may find Him." Cf. Wisd. vi. 14.

[2] "He made some things to be common, as the air, the sun, the sky . . . distributing all things equally, as to brothers. He made other things to be common, as baths, markets, cities . . . but strife comes in when men use that cold word, 'Thine, mine.' . . . Necessary things are common, but we do not observe their community even in the least things. How then can the possessor of wealth be a good

So make your final flourish,[1] and then tell us where you have come from, and the facts in regard to which we desire to learn the truth.

Bish. If it lies in my power, and if I have the requisite knowledge of these matters about which you wish to inquire, I will not hesitate, and will add nothing; but first, I suppose, I will pay off the debt [2] owing from my argument as best I can. Well, you will find that there is no apportionment in virginity, and in the unmarried state generally; these do not belong to the class of gifts common to all, or to that of those which are apportioned. Not every one who desires it is unwedded, but he who is able; for many married people long that they might be in the virgin state, but cannot attain to it, as they are already in wedlock. At the Olympic games, the herald calls him who wishes to run, but crowns only the victor; so it is with chastity, as the gospel says. Peter, you remember, raised the objection to the Saviour's teaching, that "If the case of the man be so with his wife, it is not good to marry"; and the Saviour answered, "But it is not for all men to receive this saying, but they to whom it is given." [3] Do you see, that it is not for all, but for those to whom it is given?

Deac. I expected that you would have some difficulty in your demonstration of the special gifts, but it appears that you have won us to your view by your forcible and scriptural language.

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man?" (*Hom. in* 1 *Tim.* xii.). In his sermon on the very day of his ordination as priest, Chrysostom spoke strongly against riches: "Every rich man is an unjust man, or the heir of an unjust man." Palladius follows his example at the beginning of his treatise.

[1] As a writer, making an ornamental flourish at the close of his work. The deacon is impatient of the sententious exordium, as he does not know the circumstances which make it appropriate.

[2] "Since I promised above to tell of . . ., I am constrained to pay the debt." Pall., *L. H.*, lxi. 1.

[3] Matt. xix. 10, 11 (freely quoted).

Illustrations from the Old Testament

Bish. As you have grasped this, I will enrich [1] my argument with other scripture proofs, so that evil-minded people may be persuaded to give up grasping at what they cannot get. We find that in the divine scriptures the priesthood is not common to all, nor apportioned, but is the special privilege of those who are worthy of it. Thus the great-souled Paul declares in his instructions to the Hebrews: "For no man taketh to himself the honour, but he who is called by God; so also Aaron," he says, "did not glorify himself, to be made a high priest." [2] For there were six hundred thousand men, many of them full of zeal; but one, Aaron, was proclaimed high priest, and the miracle of the rod which put forth nuts convinced the mass of the people that the priest was chosen of God. Some, however, in their ignorance of what is good, were bitten with the lust of vain reputation, and supposing that this was one of the common or apportioned gifts, leaped upon the office as self-ordained priests. They received the reward which their madness deserved; they made the very ground upon which their gathering was held bear witness to their wilfulness. It was Dathan and Abiram who were enamoured of the dignity, like men looking upon an harlot; they and their dupes were plunged into destruction beneath the earth, and found their places of assemblage to be their unexpected tomb.

Next, Uzzah, unmindful of the events I have mentioned, was led by the lust of power to fall in love with the office; and one day, as the ark was being carried along the road upon a wagon, it happened that the ox which drew it jolted and shook the ark. Uzzah, who was in attendance, took hold of it with his hand, to prevent the coffer from being

[1] Lit. "anoint." Cf. "Almsgiving anoints the soul" (*Hom. in John* lxxxi.).

[2] Heb. v. 4 (freely quoted).

overturned. God saw it, and it pleased Him not, as it afforded a precedent to headstrong persons; He prevented this, by smiting Uzzah even unto death, as a warning to posterity to refrain from such folly.

An Illustration from the New Testament

Long afterwards, after the advent of Christ, Simon Magus, of the village of Gethae,[1] a cunning professor of the teaching opposed to the truth, really a bad man of wicked life, hit upon a subtle plan [2] to satisfy his lust of power; afraid, apparently, of the punishment which befel these men of old time, he did not wish to reap as they reaped, through sowing as they sowed. So he hid the wolf in the sheepskin, and approached the apostles with flattery, offering them money, so as not to seem to grasp what he was wrongfully anxious to buy, and saying what we should expect of him and his like. "Take this money," he said, "and give me the power of your high office, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive (the gifts of the) [3] Holy Ghost." [4] And he had been baptized into the name of Jesus! The answer of the apostolic band was this: "Begone, man; the grace of God does not allow itself to be sold." And as he continued knocking at the door with his appeals, they said again: "Why buy that which you can get for nothing, if you live worthily of it?" But as he considered the burdens of the life, and his own unwillingness to bear them, and the uncertainty of the matter,[5] he again produced the money from his purse, thinking to ensnare the disciples of the Saviour by deceit. He Who takes

[1] So Just. M. Fragm. Gethae was a Samaritan village.

[2] "Acted as a Sophist"; the word in 2 Pet. i. 16. Cf. Acts vii. 19. So p. 38.

[3] As Dr. Westcott shows (on John vii. 39), "Holy Spirit" without the article refers to His gifts, not His Person.

[4] Acts viii. 19.

[5] As there is no tangible proof of the bestowal of a spiritual gift, he wished to ensure it by a tangible gift on his part.

the wise in their own craftiness[1] expressed His indignation at this by the mouth of Peter. "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought to purchase the gift of God with money." Yet He offered him the medicine of repentance, applying oil to his ailment, in His long-suffering. "Repent," He said; "it may be that the thought of thine heart shall be forgiven thee. For I perceive that thou art in the gall of bitterness, and in the bond of iniquity." For God, in His love of souls, wills not the destruction of offenders.

The Characters in the Dialogue Introduced

Now, then, that I have explained my first remarks to the best of my powers, Theodorus of noble name, and deacon of the mysteries of the truth, ask us what you wanted to find out.

Deac. Where have you come from to give us[2] your company?

Bish. From the east. You may be sure of that, for I have never seen Rome before.[3]

Deac. What particular object brought you here?

Bish. My desire for your peace.

Deac. Is our peace different from yours?

Bish. No, it is not different, but one and the same; the peace which the Saviour has given from heaven, saying to His disciples, "My peace I give unto you." And to confirm His gift of grace He repeated, "My peace I leave to you."[4] The word "give" He applies to His own work, "leave" to the Holy Spirit's; in the Spirit, through Christ, they are to reveal to the Gentiles the knowledge of the Father. But the sad condition of the poor East is like that of a man with his limbs paralyzed, who finds that the vital forces make their way to the

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 19, quoting Job v. 13.

[2] Others are present, besides Theodore (pp. 60, 165).

[3] Palladius of Helenopolis obviously had visited Rome before (p. 25). He is not represented as the "bishop" of the Dialogue, who is a purely imaginary person.

[4] John xiv. 27.

healthier parts of his body. Her limbs are paralyzed and unable to perform their proper functions, because concord has fled from her; most of us, her champions and lovers, have become exiles from our country, as we cannot live in our native land safely and quietly, on account of our attachment to the truth. We venture to hope that we may spend among you the few days of life that still remain to us in accordance with the gospel.

Deac. It seems to me that you have been sent to us, excellent father, by divine providence; for I find that your sorrow is in tune with our troubles. I think that you must be a member of the synod of John the bishop of Constantinople.

Episc. That is so.

Deac. I urge you then, as in the presence of God, to give us a really true account of events there, the details of which we are anxious to hear; remembering, that if you tell us anything contrary to the truth, you will have God as your inquisitor and judge, and will be convicted by us as well, when we learn the discrepancy. For it is not one, or two, or three, or ten persons, but more, who have given us accounts of what has happened at Constantinople; nor were they casual travellers, but some of them bishops, and presbyters, and members of the monastic order. As you may wish to have a short statement of the part the Roman Church has played, I will give you some information on the point.

How the News reached Rome

The first to arrive here was a reader [1] from Alex-

[1] The order of "readers" is first mentioned in the third century; the custom of allowing laymen to read the Scriptures was probably taken over from the Jewish Church. In the East they read only the Old Testament lections and the Epistles, announcing, "Thus saith the Lord," while the deacon responded, "Let us attend," which Chrysostom (*Hom. in Act.* xix. 5) complains that many did not do. They read from the pulpit in the nave, not from that in the chancel; Sozomen says that Chrysostom, in order to be the better heard, preached "sitting in the reader's pulpit."

andria, with letters from Pope [1] Theophilus, notifying us that he had deposed John. Upon reading this letter, the blessed Pope Innocent was somewhat [2] troubled; he condemned the impetuosity and pride of Theophilus, as he had not only written on his own single authority,[3] but also had neglected to make it clear why he had deposed him, or who had joined him in the sentence of deposition. He thus found himself in difficulty; he was disinclined to answer the letter, as the case was so obscure. Meanwhile, one Eusebius, a deacon of the Church of Constantinople, who was staying in Rome upon ecclesiastical business, came to Pope Innocent, and presented written memorials,[4] adjuring him to wait for a short time, to see the unmasking of the plot. Three days [5] afterwards

[1] "Papa." Until A.D. 230 the Bishop of Alexandria was the only one in Egypt; he was called "Abba," "Father," the title common to all bishops. "But in the time of Heraclius," when other Egyptian bishops were appointed, "the Patriarch of Alexandria was called Baba" (*i. e.* "Ab-abba," "grandfather"). Thus Eutychius (*Ann.*, cxi.). Athanasius (*Apol. c. Ar.* 69, *de Syn.* 16) regards the title as belonging to the Bishop of Alexandria only; but Tertullian speaks of any bishop who pronounces absolution as "benedictus Papa," and Jerome gives the title to Athanasius, Epiphanius, Augustine, etc. Later, the linguistic origin of the title was forgotten, and it was supposed that "Papa" was a special title of dignity given to the Bishops of Alexandria because they ruled such an important see; hence it was also given to the Bishops of Rome, and in time claimed by them as their peculiar privilege. Cf. p. 52.

Theophilus, after spending his youth among the recluses of the desert of Nitria, became secretary to Athanasius, was priest at Alexandria, and bishop in 385. Jerome, among others, greatly admired him as a learned and vigorous man; the more so, probably, as sharing his views upon Origenism. He died in 412, and was succeeded by his nephew, the famous Cyril.

[2] "Not" seems to have dropped out of the text. "Not a little troubled."

[3] Without the support of his synod.

[4] "Libelli"; frequently in this treatise for "memorials of complaint," "accusatory documents"; here, "of petition," as in *Conc. Eph.*, Can. VIII.

[5] These "three days" present a difficulty. Theophilus arrived at Constantinople in June; the last events recorded in the letter occurred at Easter. How, when nine months

arrived four bishops of John's party, all devout [1] persons—Pansophius of Pisidia, Pappus of Syria, Demetrius of the Second Galatia, and Eugenius of Phrygia; they delivered two letters, followed by a third, one from Bishop John, one from forty other bishops in communion with John, the last from John's clergy. All three letters agreed in their representation of the disturbance caused by ignorant persons. The substance of John's letter [2] was as follows :—

had elapsed, did the two communications arrive so nearly together? We must not suppose that either party would be in haste to communicate with the Bishop of Rome. There was no love lost between the three sees; the record of Rome was not without taint of heretical leanings, and neither the Bishop of "New Rome," nor the successor of St. Mark, on the throne of the largest province in the world, would welcome interference from "beyond the boundaries," even if the canons did not discountenance it. Moreover, Chrysostom would know that his ejection might be regarded by Innocent as a personal matter, which did not concern the Church as a whole, while Theophilus would have to acknowledge defeat. But when Theophilus saw some prospect of ultimate success, he would be anxious to secure as much support as possible, and would hope by a formal notification to prejudice Innocent's mind (always prepared to be jealous of the rising power of Constantinople) against Chrysostom; while in the sacrilegious occurrences at Constantinople, Chrysostom had a ground for appeal, for the benefit of the whole Church, in offences committed against her Lord, not against himself. Had he wished to bring the matter to Innocent's attention earlier, it would have been easy for him to instruct Eusebius to make the statement officially, which he made on his own account, on hearing of Theophilus' communication.

[1] The word means "cautious," "circumspect"; so "careful in religious matters," rendered "devout" in Luke ii. 25; Acts viii. 2, etc. It is approximating to its later use as a title of a clergyman, equivalent to our "Reverend."

[2] This letter is given among the "Epistles of Chrysostom," but can hardly be what he actually wrote. The author professes to give only the substance of it; the style is his own, though some of Chrysostom's phrases occur. Possibly Chrysostom wrote in Latin, which Palladius has freely translated, just as Sozomen translates Innocent's answer. The letter ends, in harmony with the chronology, with the Easter services held in the open air; a forgery would have probably betrayed some knowledge of later events. Photius, with some hesitation, thinks it is Chrysostom's own work, especially on account of its rhetorical style.

CHAPTER II

CHRYSOSTOM'S LETTER TO INNOCENT

The Urgent Need for Action

"To my Lord the reverend and most holy Bishop Innocent, John sends greetings in the Lord.

"Your piety[1] has doubtless heard, before the receipt of this letter, of the daring illegalities committed here; for the magnitude of the crime has left no part of the world in ignorance of the cruel tragedy. Rumour has carried the news to the furthest bounds of the earth, and caused everywhere much grief and sorrow. But as the circumstances call not only for lamentation, but for remedial action, and consideration of the steps to be taken to stay this furious tempest raging within the Church, we thought it necessary to instruct my most honoured and devout lords,[2] the Bishops Demetrius, Pansophius, Pappus, and Eugenius, to leave their own Churches, and to face the dangers of a long sea voyage, and set out for a lengthy absence from home; to fly to your love, and explain all the facts clearly, so as to arrange for the speediest possible redress. With them we have sent the most honoured and well-beloved deacons[3] Paul and Cyriacus.[4] These persons shall take the place of a letter, and quickly inform your love of what has happened.

[1] Phrases such as "Your love," "Your gentleness," are constantly used by early Christian writers as complimentary terms of address, some of which we retain, as "Your reverence," "Your holiness," etc.

[2] "I am dead to my lords the bishops." Pall., *L. H.*, xvi.

[3] Deacons were frequently deputed to represent bishops even at general councils. The diaconate was not regarded as a step to the priesthood, but as a distinct and generally life-long office, with its special duties and privileges.

[4] Sozomen (viii. 26) gives a Greek translation of Innocent's letter to Chrysostom, exhorting him to patience, which he is sending by "Cyriacus the deacon."

Theophilus reveals his Hostility

"The fact is, that Theophilus, to whose hands has been entrusted the bishopric of the Church of Alexandria, on representations made against him to our most pious king,[1] was commanded to appear before him alone; but he arrived with a large company of Egyptians, as if anxious to show, from the very beginning, that he came for war and conflict. Next, on landing at the great and godly city of Constantinople, he did not go to Church, according to the rule which has prevailed from ancient times, or have any dealings with us, or join with us in conversation, in prayer, or in communion, but came off the ship, hurried past the porch of the Church, and went somewhere outside of the city to lodge. We repeatedly invited both him and his companions to make their stay with us (indeed, we had everything ready, including rooms and all proper accommodation); but both they and he refused the offer. We were much perplexed at this conduct, as we could not find any reason for such undeserved enmity; none the less, we did all that could be required of us, and acted correctly, continually inviting him to confer with us, and to say why he, at the very outset, kindled such a conflict, and caused offence to so important a city. But as he still persisted in refusing to state his reason, and his accusers were urgent, the most pious king commanded us to go across to his lodging, and hear his statement of his case; for he was charged with violence and murder, and countless other crimes.

Chrysostom's Correct Attitude

"We, however, had too much respect and honour for the laws laid down by the fathers,[2] and for Theo-

[1] Arcadius; "King" = "Emperor." The East had no such objection to the title *basileus* as the West had for *rex*. For the reason for the summons, see p. 62.

[2] Implied in Canons V. and VI. of Nicæa. Canon II. of the Council of Constantinople (381) explicitly forbids such

philus himself; and we had in our possession his own letter,[1] in which he said that cases ought not to be taken beyond the boundaries [of a province], but the affairs of each province should be dealt with in that province.[2] We therefore declined to try the case, and even protested most vigorously.

Theophilus Secures his Expulsion

"But Theophilus seemed to think he was dealing with his old enemies; he summoned my archdeacon [3]

interferences, using Theophilus' term "beyond the boundaries." "The bishops of the east shall administer the east only."

[1] Pp. 61, 69.

[2] "Eparchia," the Roman "Province," of which there were thirteen, each with its governor and council, under whom were the governors of the respective districts and cities, with their councils. The Church followed the civil division into provinces, with their metropolitans or patriarchs, and their synods, under whom were the local or suffragan bishops. Another word, "dioecesis," was used sometimes for the whole civil "province," but more often for a smaller "administrative division"; Cicero speaks of "my dioceses" (*ad Att.* v. 21; vi. 2). The same indeterminateness attaches to its Church use; sometimes it means a "province" (*Conc. Const.*, Can. II.), sometimes a "diocese" (*Conc. Nic.*, Can. XVI.), for which "parœcia" (our "parish") was also used (p. 57, n.).

[3] The archdeacon in the ancient Church was one of the seven deacons (in the Church of Rome there were forty-six priests, but the number of deacons was kept to the number of Apostolic appointment), chosen either by virtue of seniority, or by election by the other deacons, or appointed by the bishop. He attended upon the bishop at the altar, ordered the other deacons and inferior clergy, acted for the bishop in his absence, or during a vacancy in the bishop's chair, and assisted him in managing the Church revenues, etc.; his position being so important that he was frequently the bishop's successor. Hence if the deposition was actual, it was quite in order for the communication to be addressed to the archdeacon, as in charge of diocesan affairs.

Stephens speaks of "John, Archdeacon of Constantinople." With the most diligent search, I can find no mention of such a person. We read of a deacon John, deposed by Chrysostom either for murder or for fornication, who acted as his accuser at The Oak (p. 64); and Photius tells us

in a very high-handed manner, as if the Church was already a widow,[1] and had no bishop, and through him brought all the clergy over to his side. Thus the Churches were in a state of disorder; the clergy attached to them were led astray,[2] and persuaded to present memorials against us, and egged on to become our accusers. Having succeeded so far, he sent and called us to come before him for judgment, although he had not cleared himself of the charges brought against him; a thing distinctly contrary to the canons and all the laws of the Church. But as we were aware that we were not to come before a judge (we would have appeared ten thousand times before a judge!), but before an enemy and a foe, as his actions before and afterwards showed, we sent

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that John, a deacon, brought forward twenty-nine charges against him, the first being that he had deposed him from his office for flogging his own servant—evidently alluding to the same person. But I cannot anywhere find him called archdeacon. The archdeacon appointed by Chrysostom was Serapion, or Sarapion (so p. 175), "an Egyptian, swift to wrath, prompt to insolence," whose indiscretion and arrogance added greatly to Chrysostom's unpopularity, and who no doubt acted as his agent in his reforms. In the presence of a number of clergy, he said to Chrysostom, "You will never subdue these mutinous priests until you drive them all before you as with a single rod" (cf. p. 32, n.). Owing to his isolated life, Chrysostom mistook his character, and attributed his intolerant severity to holy zeal and loyalty towards himself. Leo's life of Chrysostom says that Serapion, "through envy and the instigation of a woman, stirred every stone to arouse hatred and stumbling-blocks against the divine shepherd"; but as Chrysostom afterwards made him Bishop of Heracleia (p. 70, n.), the words here cannot mean that Serapion turned against him, but that the communication gave the discontented clergy, full of hatred towards Serapion, an opportunity of rallying against both him and the bishop. One of the charges brought against Chrysostom at The Oak was, that he had ordained Serapion presbyter.

[1] Almost a technical term for a vacancy in a see; so in Can. Chalc. XXV. Eudoxia claimed to have "restored the bridegroom" to Constantinople (Chr., *Serm. de ved.*, iv.).

[2] The word in 1 Cor. xii. 2. But possibly "arrested" (even with violence as in Acts xii. 19, cf. Gen. xxxix. 22, LXX) is the meaning, as the Churches are said below to be "left shepherdless."

to him the Bishops Demetrius of Pisinum, Eulysius of Apameia, and Luppicianus of Appiaria, and the priests Germanus and Serus; we answered with becoming moderation, and said that we raised no objection to a trial, but to trial by an open enemy and foe. Seeing that he had as yet received no charges against us, and had from the first acted as he had, and dissociated himself from Church, and communion, and prayer, and was bribing [1] accusers, winning over our clergy, and leaving Churches without shepherds, how could he with justice mount the judge's throne, which in no sense belonged to him? For it was out of order for an Egyptian bishop to act as judge in Thrace,[2] when he himself was under accusation, and an enemy and foe of the accused. Yet he was unabashed by all these considerations, and persevered in his design; when we declared that we were ready to clear ourselves of the charges in the presence of a hundred or of a thousand bishops, and to prove our innocence, shown by the very fact of our offer, he would not allow it. In our absence, in spite of our appeal to a synod, and our request for a trial (it was not a fair hearing, but open hostility, that we wished to avoid), he admitted our accusers, and set free offenders whom I had placed in confinement, and without waiting for them to clear themselves of the charges against them, accepted their memorials, and drew up minutes. All this was contrary to rule, and canon, and order. In fact, to make a long story short, he left no stone unturned, until by

[1] Or, "Anointed (as wrestlers) for a campaign of calumniation." But the word is frequent in this treatise for "greasing the palm," especially by bribes, as below, and p. 55.

[2] The author is quite correct in speaking of the province of Thrace in conjunction with that of Egypt, not of the see of Constantinople. The province of Thrace contained six dioceses, stretching right up to the Danube; the mother see was that of Heracleia, the old civil capital. The Council of Constantinople (Can. III.) ordered that the Bishop of Constantinople should have honorary pre-eminence, next to the city of Rome, "because it is New Rome," but Constantinople is still a single diocese in the province of Thrace.

sheer force and tyrannical action he drove us from the city and the Church.

Chrysostom's Expulsion and Return

"Late one evening, when I was being escorted through the streets by the whole of the populace, I was arrested by the city governor's agent[1] in the middle of the city, dragged away by force, and put on board a ship, which set sail by night; when I was summoning a synod for a just trial. Who could hear of these doings without shedding tears, though he had a heart of stone? But, as I said before, they call not only for lamentation, but for redress; I therefore appeal to your love, to arise and grieve with me, and do all you can to stay these evils. For there is more yet. Even after my departure, Theophilus did not put a stop to the lawless doings of his party, but girded himself for further action. Our most pious king expelled those who had so shamelessly and unrighteously intruded themselves upon the Church, and many of the bishops, when they observed the lawlessness of my opponents, retired to their own homes, so as to avoid their attacks, as they would an universal conflagration; while we were recalled to the city and to the Church, from which we had been unrighteously expelled, thirty bishops introducing us, and our most reverent king sending a notary for the purpose.[2] Then Theophilus, for no rhyme or reason known to us, at once went off like a runaway slave.

The Emperor summons a Synod

"Upon our re-entry into the city, we petitioned the most reverent king to summon a synod to exact

[1] "Curiosus." The "Curius" was the responsible guardian to whom was entrusted the care of minors and women (cf. our word "curate"): so "Curiosus" is any functionary employed by a superior official, in this case the "comes" (p. 41), for a public duty.

[2] Chrysostom anticipates the charge of "re-entry upon his own initiative" (p. 76).

retribution for all that had been done. Conscious of his guilt, and afraid of conviction, when the royal letters had been issued throughout the realm and gathered the whole episcopate from every quarter, at dead of night he secretly flung himself into a boat, and so made off, taking all his party with him. Even so, we could not let the matter drop, in the confidence our good conscience gave us, but renewed our request to the most pious king. He did as became his piety, sending a despatch to Theophilus, requiring him to return at once from Egypt, with all his followers, to give an account of what had taken place, and not to think that his unrighteous proceedings, conducted in our absence, with one side only heard, and contrary to so many canons, were sufficient to exculpate him.

Chrysostom's Second Expulsion

"But he paid no attention even to the royal letters, but stayed at home, pleading in excuse a possible uprising of the people and an unfortunate outburst of zeal, on the part, presumably, of some of his supporters; although before the king's letter was issued this same people had loaded him with abuse. But we will not labour this point now; we only mention it to show that his actions proved his guilt.

"However, even after this we did not rest, but persisted in our claim for a trial, with proper inquiry and response; for we were ready to prove our innocence, and their outrageous lawlessness. Now he had left behind some Syrians, who had accompanied him, his fellow-actors in the whole drama. We were ready to face these before a judge, and repeatedly pressed our application, claiming that either minutes of the proceedings should be given us, or the memorials of our accusers, or at least that the nature of the charges, or the accusers themselves, should be made known to us; we were granted none of these requests, but were again expelled from the city.

Acts of Sacrilege at Constantinople

"How can I tell you what followed, a tale more harrowing than any tragedy? What words can express it? What ears can hear it without a shudder? While we were pressing the requests I have mentioned, a strong body of soldiers invaded the Church, on the Great Sabbath,[1] when evening was fast closing in, forcibly expelled all the clergy who were with us, and surrounded the chancel [2] with arms. Women who were in the houses of prayer,[3] unrobed in readiness for baptism on that day,[4] fled naked in face of this savage attack, not even allowed to clothe themselves as womanly decency requires. Many of these were even thrown outside injured, and the fonts [5] were filled with blood, and the holy water dyed red from their wounds.

[1] The Sabbath in the "Great Week," Easter Eve. So called first in the Epistle of the Smyrnæans on the martyrdom of Polycarp. "Why do we call it the 'Great week'? Not because its hours are longer, but because in it unspeakable blessings came to us. Even emperors order cessation from business, and prisoners are freed at this time" (*Hom. in Gen.*, xxx.). Eusebius (*Vit. Const.*, iv. 22) speaks of the pomp of the vigil, and the multitude of candles lighted. It was a tradition that Christ would come at midnight, as He did upon the Egyptians; therefore the people were not dismissed before midnight, in expectation of the second Advent.

[2] "Bema," "the place to which you go up"; the east end of the churches being raised above the nave floor. Here stood the altar, and the seats or "thrones" of the bishop and clergy, and the lectern, from which the Gospel was read (as distinct from the "ambo" in the nave, from which the lector read less important scriptures, cf. p. 7, n.).

[3] The word is in the genitive, "women of the oratories," or, as we should say, "women members of the congregation."

[4] Gregory Nazianzen speaks of persons who postpone baptism, saying, "I wait till Epiphany, that I may be baptized with Christ; I choose Easter, that I may rise with Christ; I wait for Whitsuntide, that I may honour the Holy Ghost." Later Councils actually ordered that, except for urgent reasons, all catechumens were to be baptized at Easter; though this probably included the fifty days of Pentecost following Easter Day.

[5] The word in John v. 2. So in Socr. vii. 17, and frequently.

"Even this was not the end of the horror; the soldiers then entered the chamber in which the sacred vessels were kept, some of them, we know, being unbaptized,[1] and saw all that was within; in the turmoil the most holy blood [2] of Christ was poured out upon the garments of the women of whom I spoke. It was exactly like a barbarian man-hunting raid. The people were driven out into the country, and all the laity fled from the city; high festival though it was, the churches were emptied of their congregations, and more than forty bishops, in communion with us, were driven out, with the laity, for no possible reason. Everywhere, in the market-places, the houses, the country districts, were cries, groans, wailings, lamentations, and streams of tears; no part of the city escaped these calamities. Lawlessness reached such a pitch, that not only the actual victims, but even those who had not actually suffered as we did, were distressed in sympathy with us, including not only our fellow-believers, but heretics, Jews, and Greeks,[3] as well; everything was in a state of disturbance, and confusion, and lamentation, as if the city had been captured by force of arms. And all this wickedness was done against the wishes of the most pious king, under cover of night, at the instigation of bishops, who were not ashamed to have corporals [4] marching in front of them, instead of deacons.

The Injury to the whole Church

"When day came, the whole city moved outside

[1] "Uninitiated" into the "mysteries" of the faith, which included the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Sacraments. Chrysostom (*in Matt.* xxiii.) speaks of the Eucharist held with closed doors; all the ancient liturgies contain the proclamation of the deacon, "Let none remain who is a catechumen, a hearer, or an unbeliever."

[2] The elements were obviously "reserved"; in this case for the midnight mass. Cf. p. 57, n.

[3] *i. e.* pagans.

[4] Lit. "camp-officers."

the walls, and kept the feast under trees and thickets, like sheep scattered abroad. I leave you to imagine all that followed; for, as I said, it is impossible to go into all the details in words. It is especially hard, that even now we have not seen the end of all this long series of crying evils, or even any prospect of it; on the contrary, the evil spreads every day, and we are a laughing-stock to every one—though it would be more true to say that no one, even the most hardened offender against law, laughs—but, as I said, every one laments this new form of lawlessness, the very crown [1] of evils. Who can tell the disorders of the other Churches? For the trouble has not been confined to Constantinople, but has extended into the east. When some evil matter discharges from the head, all the limbs are corrupted; in the same way, now that the evil has begun in this great city, disorder has made its way everywhere, like water from a spring. Everywhere clergy are in revolt against bishops, and as for the lay congregations, some are split up into factions, others are likely to be so; everywhere we find the throes of evil, and the undoing of the whole world.

An Appeal for Help

"With the whole of the facts before you, my most learned and reverent lords, show, we pray you, the courage and zeal which we expect of you, so as to check this flood of lawlessness which has burst upon the Churches. For if these proceedings become a precedent; if it come to be within the powers of all who wish, to invade other provinces, however distant from their own, and expel whom they will, and to do on their own authority whatever they will; be sure that everything will go by the board, and implacable [2] war will overrun the whole world.

[1] "Colophon," "finishing stroke to a writing." So Chr., *Hom. in Ps.* cxxiv., "death is the Colophon of ills," and elsewhere.

[2] So Chr., *de Comp.*, i. 5.

Every one will expel his neighbour, and be expelled in turn. To prevent such universal confusion, I beg you to declare in writing, that these lawless proceedings, transacted in our absence, and with only one side heard, while we raised no objections to a fair trial, have no force (as indeed, from their very nature, they cannot), and that those who have been guilty of such lawlessness lie under penalty for breach of ecclesiastical law; while to us, who have not been arrested, nor convicted, nor shown to be guilty, grant that we may have the benefit of your customary good services,[1] and of your love, and your help in every way, as heretofore.

Request for a Trial

"But if these grievous law-breakers, even now, are willing to declare the charges on the strength of which they undeservedly expelled us, let the documents be presented to us, the memorials of our accusers be produced, and an unprejudiced court sit; so let us be tried, and make our defence, and let us show ourselves guiltless, as indeed we are, of the allegations brought against us. For their present proceedings are beyond all order, and all ecclesiastical law and canon. Such outrages have never been known even in heathen courts of justice, or even in a barbarian court. Scythians and Sarmatians would never have decided a case after hearing one side only, in the absence of the accused, when he raised no objections to a trial, but only to personal hatred, and when he asked for judges to any number, declaring himself to be innocent, and was ready in the presence of the whole world to clear himself of the charges, and to show himself to be absolutely guiltless.

"Take all these points, I pray you, into consideration, and make full inquiries of our most reverent brother lord bishops; and take such steps

[1] Or, "Your letters" ("grammaton" for "pragmaton").

as commend themselves to you. In so doing you will render service not only to us, but to the general welfare of the Churches, and you will receive your due reward from God, Who unceasingly works for the good of the Churches. I address this letter also to Venerius, Bishop of Milan, and to Chromatius, Bishop of Aquileia. Farewell in the Lord."

CHAPTER III

THE EMPEROR OF ROME TAKES ACTION

Innocent calls for a Synod of Inquiry

In answer to this letter, the blessed Pope Innocent sent to each party a formal letter,[1] declaring himself to be in communion with them both, at the same time nullifying the judgment supposed to have been given by Theophilus, and stating that another synod, in which full confidence could be placed, of western and eastern bishops, must be summoned,[2] first the friends, and then the enemies, of the respective

[1] Lit. "The equal things of the communion." It was usual for bishops to send to one another portions of the consecrated elements as a sign of unity and good-will. Irenæus refers to this custom (Euseb. v. 24); Can. XIV. of Laodicea forbids such sendings, on the feast of Easter, to other dioceses. But "equal things" is commonly used in later Greek for "copies," "documents in prescribed form"—in Latin, "formatæ epistolæ." The eleventh canon of Chalcedon deals with such "letters of commendation" (cf. 2 Cor. iii. 1, Rom. xvi. 1) carried by travellers; described as "letters of peace," or "letters of communion," guaranteeing that the bearers were members of the Church. This will be the sense here. The letter would be akin to the "letters of peace" sent from the west to Flavian (Soz. viii. 25); see p. 50, and the first words of the letter below.

[2] Innocent's letter in Sozomen to the clergy of Constantinople urges the need of a synod, though not with these stipulations.

parties to retire from the assemblage, since as a general rule neither of these gives an unprejudiced verdict.

After a few days, Peter, one of Theophilus' priests, arrived, and with him Martyrius,[1] a deacon of the Church of Constantinople, who presented letters from Theophilus, and what professed to be certain minutes; in which it appeared that John had been condemned by thirty-six bishops, of whom twenty-nine were from Egypt, seven from other parts. Pope Innocent read these minutes, and finding that the charges were not serious, and also that John had not been present in person at his conviction, renewed his denunciation of the mad fury of Theophilus, in issuing, like an evil discharge, a hasty sentence against an absent man. He dismissed them, therefore, with letters expressing his censure, and besought God with prayer and fasting, that the breach of unity in the Church might be closed, and brotherly love be cemented. The tenor of his letter was as follows :—

" Brother Theophilus, we recognize both you and your brother John to be in communion with us; we expressed our views to this effect in our previous letter. And now, without departing from this our determined policy, we can only write to you again the same message, however many letters you may send us. This is, that unless a proper judgment confirms these childish proceedings, it is impossible for us, without reason given, to separate ourselves from communion with John. If then you are sure of your verdict, meet a synod assembled as Christ ordained,[2] and there openly state your accusation under appeal to the canons of Nicæa[3] (for the

[1] A panegyric of Chrysostom by " Martyrius, Bishop of Antioch " (Migne, xlvii.), seems to be his work.

[2] Matt. xviii. 17; cf. 1 Cor. v. 9.

[3] " We write, that we must be led by the canons laid down at Nicæa, which alone the Catholic Church ought to follow " (Innocent's letter in Soz. viii. 26). The fifth canon prescribes that persons excommunicated by the bishops of a province

Church of Rome accepts no other canon); so you will stand on firm ground against all cavil."

Further News Arrives

A little time slipped by,[1] and then a priest of Constantinople, Theotecnus by name, arrived, presenting letters from John's synod, of twenty-five bishops or rather more; in which they advised us, that John had been expelled from the city[2] with the help of the military, and sent into exile at Cucusus, and that the church had been burnt. Innocent gave him letters of communion,[3] addressed to Bishop John and to those in communion with him, begging them with tears to be patient, as he could not help them owing to the hostile action of certain persons with power to do wrong.

A Foul Charge

A short time afterwards a second messenger arrived, a mannikin, ugly in appearance, difficult to understand; Paternus was his name. He said that he was a priest of the Church of Constantinople; he was in a state of furious excitement, and showed his hostility by his behaviour.[4] After loading Bishop John with abuse, he presented letters from a few bishops, Acacius, Paulus, Antiochus, Cyrinus,[5] and Severianus, and some others, in which they laid against John the false charge of having set the church on fire. The

(" eparchia," as above, p. 12) may not be admitted to communion by other bishops; but that to prevent undeserved excommunications, two synods shall be held in each province each year, at which inquiry shall be made into doubtful cases. Hence Chrysostom refused communion to the Tall Brothers (p. 60). Innocent's proposed synod would go further, being of the whole Church, not of a single province; here Theophilus, having excommunicated Chrysostom, would have to justify his action.

[1] Lit. " rode past " on horseback. So in Pall., *L. H.*, vi. 7.

[2] Chrysostom's second expulsion (p. 89).

[3] Declaring himself to be still in communion with them (p. 21).

[4] Or, " his appearance."

[5] See p. 126.

story seemed to us so palpably false, that John did not even offer any defence in an important synod;[1] Pope Innocent treated it with contempt, and did not think it worthy of an answer.

Chrysostom's Friends denounced by Imperial Edicts

Bish. Be so good as to give me your attention, that I may tell you the exact facts; for most truly, as Elihu says to Job, "The spirit of my belly constrains me"[2]—meaning by "belly," his mind, filled with words.

Deac. I must first insist upon making complete, as well as accurate, my account of all that has happened among us, most excellent father. Only then can I begin to put my questions to you. Well, after a few days the bishop of the Synadi[3] arrived; he carried no letter, but was qualified to give a harmonious narrative. He said that he had left Constantinople in consequence of the threat conveyed in the royal edict, containing the order that "if any one is not in communion with Theophilus and Arsacius and Porphyrius,[4] he is to be restrained from exercise of the episcopal office; and further, if he appears to hold property in money or goods he shall be deprived of it."[5]

Later News

Cyriacus was followed by Eulysius, Bishop of Apameia, in Bithynia, who presented letters from fifteen bishops of John's synod and from the venerable Anysius, Bishop of Thessalonica; in which the fifteen

[1] This could only be by proxy or by letter, as he went straight into exile (p. 90). A synod was held after the first expulsion (p. 73, n.), which the deacon may have in mind, but the author is not concerned with his accuracy. The lack of logical sequence in the sentence may point to corruption in the text. [2] Job xxxii. 18. [3] Cyriacus; p. 89.

[4] Bishop of Antioch (p. 13 ff.). For Arsacius, cf. p. 30.

[5] *i. e.* Chrysostom is a heretic. Theodosius, father of Arcadius, had issued such edicts in regard to the Arians. George tells us that Chrysostom obtained the same from Arcadius. The leaning of the Church upon the civil power has always proved disastrous. Cf. p. 196.

bishops described the pillage which had occurred, and was occurring, all over Constantinople, and Anysius declared that he abided by the judgment of the Church of Rome. Eulysius' account agreed with that of Cyriacus.

A month later, Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, arrived, without letters, saying that he too had fled from the fury of the civil authorities; he was able to add point to his account by producing a copy of the edict, containing the order, that "the house of any one who conceals, or receives into his house, under any pretext, a bishop or priest in communion with John, is to be confiscated."

After Palladius arrived Germanus, a priest,[1] and with him Cassianus,[2] a deacon, of John's party, both discreet men, presenting letters from the whole of John's clergy. They wrote that their Church had been subjected to violence and tyranny; their bishop had been expelled with the help of the military, and sent into exile through a plot formed by Acacius of Berea, Theophilus of Alexandria, Antiochus of Ptolemais, and Severianus of Gabala. They also presented a receipt, showing that they had deposited with the magistrates, as witnesses to the deed, namely, Studius the city prefect, Eutychianus, chief of the guard, John the city treasurer, and Eustathius, chief of police, and keeper of the records, valuables in gold, silver, and clothing, by way of clearing Bishop John of the charges laid against him.[3]

[1] Innocent states in his letter (in Sozomen) that he writes in answer to letters brought by these two.

[2] Cassian had lived long among the monks of Egypt, and was ordained deacon by Chrysostom, for whom he had a great admiration. His writings are our best authority for the monastic life of the time, and were ordered to be studied in the Benedictine monasteries. He afterwards settled at Marseilles, where he founded a monastery for each sex, and took a leading part in the discussions upon grace and free-will, originated by the Pelagian heresy, evoking two treatises from St. Augustine.

[3] The third charge at The Oak: "that he had sold a great quantity of the treasures of the Church."

After these came Demetrius, Bishop of Pisinum, for the second time, from a long journey through the east. He announced that the Roman Church was in communion with Bishop John, as shown by letters from Pope Innocent, and brought letters from the bishops of Caria, in which they declared their adherence to the communion of John, and from the bishops of Antioch, appealing to the love of order of the Roman Church, and lamenting the ordination of Porphyrius, as illegally and impiously performed.

Last of all came the priest Domitian, steward [1] of the Church of Constantinople, and one Vallagas, a Nisibian priest, who related the troubles of the monasteries of Mesopotamia, and presented memoranda from one Optatus,[2] the prefect, showing that respectable women of the upper classes, deaconesses of the Church of Constantinople, were publicly brought before him, and compelled either to communicate with Arsacius, or to pay two hundred pounds in gold to the treasury. As for the treatment of anchorites and virgins, I dare not speak of that. They could point to ribs scraped upon the rack, and mutilated ears.

[1] The revenues of the Church were originally entrusted to the bishop, to be by him distributed among the clergy and poor; this he did through the deacons, and especially the archdeacon. But as the Church grew in wealth and extent, "stewards" were appointed, always from among the clergy. *Conc. Chalc.*, Can. XXV., XXVI., prescribe that during a vacancy in a see the revenues of a Church shall be managed by the steward, "that the administration of the Church may not be without witnesses, and the property of the Church be wasted, and the clergy exposed to cavils." Theophilus advanced two monks to be stewards (p. 54); in his canonical epistle he orders that stewards are to be chosen by the clergy.

[2] A pagan, and bitter opponent of the Faith, who succeeded Studius as prefect of Constantinople. He tried by torture those accused of the burning of the church; Eutropius, a reader, died under it. Tigrius (p. 176) and Serapion (p. 175) were similarly treated; Olympias was brought before him, and after a lively passage of arms heavily fined, for refusing to communicate with Arsacius.

Honorius Intervenes

Pope Innocent could restrain himself no longer; he sent a letter to the pious King Honorius,[1] submitting in detail the main points of the letters. His reverence was deeply moved by this statement, and ordered a synod of the western bishops to be summoned, which should pass an unanimous resolution, to be transmitted to him. The bishops of Italy accordingly met, and petitioned the king to write to his brother and fellow-king Arcadius, that he should command a synod to be held in Thessalonica. This would enable those from both hemispheres, east and west alike, to attend without difficulty, and so secure that a full synod, characterized by good judgment rather than by numbers, should issue an indisputable resolution. His reverence was so much inflamed by this letter, that he wrote to the Bishop of Rome, that he had sent five bishops, two priests, and one deacon, of Rome, to convey his letter to his brother. The import of this letter was as follows :—

Honorius' Letter to Arcadius

"This is the third time that I write to your gentleness, begging you to take measures for redress in regard to the plot against John, Bishop of Constantinople, and so far as it appears, nothing has been done. Once more, then, I address you, by the hands of the bishops and priests, in my anxiety for the peace of the Church, upon which the peace of your kingdom depends, urging you to be so good as to command that the bishops of the east shall meet at Thessalonica. I may add that our bishops of the west have made careful choice of messengers, beyond the influence of malice or deceit—five bishops, two priests, and a deacon, of the greatest Church, that of Rome. Be so good as to hold them worthy of

[1] Theodosius, dying in 395, bequeathed the empire of the west to Honorius, his younger, that of the east to Arcadius, his elder, but feebler son.

all honour, so that either they may be convinced that Bishop John was justly expelled, and instruct me to separate from communion with him; or else, if they prove that the bishops of the east were deliberately influenced by malice, they may induce you to break off communion with them. To show you the mind of the westerns in regard to Bishop John, I append two of the various letters they have addressed to me, which are of the same import as the rest; those of the bishops of Rome and of Aquileia. But what I specially press upon your gentleness is, that you require the presence, however unwilling, of Theophilus of Alexandria, who is alleged to be the chief cause of all the trouble; that so the bishops assembled in synod may meet with no hindrance in deciding upon the peaceful settlement which our times require."

CHAPTER IV

THE BISHOP BEGINS HIS NARRATIVE

The Deputation from Rome

So the holy bishops Æmilius of Beneventum and Cythegius, and Gaudentius, with the priests Valentianus and Bonifacius and others, took charge of the letters of Innocent and the Italian bishops, Chromatius of Aquileia and Venerius of Milan and the rest, and of a memorandum from the synod of the whole of the west, and were despatched to Constantinople at public expense,[1] accompanied by Bishops Cyriacus, Deme-

[1] So Chrysostom is brought from Antioch to Constantinople (p. 42); as it was by the order of the Emperor, conveyance was provided for them. The bishops were similarly brought to the Council of Nicæa (*Synthema*, Lat. "Tessara," a ticket given to soldiers for their rations, to delegates to a friendly city entitling them to hospitality, etc.).

trius, Palladius, and Eulysius. The memorandum was to the effect that John ought not to come up for judgment until his Church and rights of communion were restored to him; so that he might take his place in the synod of his own free will, without any excuse for ignoring the summons.

The Despiteful Treatment of the Delegates

They arrived safely at Constantinople, but returned after four months, reporting proceedings [1] which recalled Babylonian oppression. "We coasted Greece," they said, "and reached Athens; where we were detained by some wretched officer, who at once put us under the guard of a centurion, and forbad us to proceed to Thessalonica," where they [2] proposed to commence their mission by presenting the letters to Bishop Anysius. "So he embarked us," the narrator continued, "in two ships, and sent us off. A violent storm from the south came on, and we were three days without food, crossing the Ægean Sea and the straits, and at the twelfth hour of the third day anchored before the city, near the suburb of Victor. Here we were arrested by the harbour masters, by whose orders we did not know, and taken to the outskirts of the city.[3] We were confined in a fortress in Thrace, called Athyra, near the sea, to our absolute torture; [4] the Roman envoys together in one small

[1] Innocent's letter in Sozomen states that he has learnt the facts from Bishops Demetrius, Cyriacus, Eulysius, and Palladius, "who are with us at Rome." Our author is thoroughly conversant with the facts.

[2] The Greek alternates between the first and third persons. This can be well understood, if Palladius is describing his own experiences, and occasionally forgets to preserve his anonymity by using the third person. The same feature occurs in Pall., *L. H.*, v. 1. The accuracy of detail in the record (cf. pp. 66, 126, 178), where Palladius is stated to be present, has much bearing on the question of the authorship of the treatise.

[3] Lit. "the back parts"; cf. p. 83.

[4] The words can hardly bear their literal sense, "there put on the rack."

building, Cyriacus and his companions in others, without even a slave to wait upon us. We were asked for our letters, but refused to surrender them, maintaining that it was impossible for us as delegates to present the letters of the king and the bishops to other than the king himself. As we persisted in our refusal, we were visited first by Patricius, a notary, then by various others, and last of all by a company captain named Valerianus, a Cappadocian, who broke the thumb of Bishop Marianus, and carried off the sealed letter of the king, with the other letters.

"On the following day, messengers were sent to us (whether by members of the royal court, or by Atticus, who was reported to have leaped upon the throne of the Church,[1] we do not know), offering us three thousand cash,[2] and urging us to accept their offer, and to communicate with Atticus, and say no more about the case of John. We refused the offer, and continued in prayer, that if we could do nothing to bring about peace, we might at least return in safety to our Churches—such was the ferocity we observed in them. That this should be so, God the Saviour made clear to them by various revelations. Paul, the deacon of the holy Emmelius, a very gentle and sensible man, while on the ship, saw a vision of Paul the apostle, saying to him, 'Take heed how ye walk, not as fools, but as wise, knowing that the days are evil.'[3] The dream was a warning against their various unprincipled efforts to persuade us to pervert the truth, by bribes and flattery."

[1] If the report meant that he had succeeded in his aim, it was not true. Arsacius, brother of Nectarius, was appointed, and occupied the throne for a year (p. 90), when Atticus succeeded him.

[2] "Nomisma," Lat. "nummus." A thousand *nummi* or *sestertii* made a *sestertium*, worth about £8.

[3] Eph. v. 15, 16.

Return of the Delegates

"Captain Valerianus came again," our informant said, "and placed us on board a very poor vessel, with a guard of twenty soldiers drawn from different ranks, after bribing the skipper, so it was rumoured, to get rid of his episcopal passengers, and packed us from Athyra at a moment's notice. So we sailed for a long distance, and were like to lose our lives, when we moored off Lampsacus;[1] there we were transhipped, and on the twentieth day brought up at Hydrun[2] in Calabria. As to the whereabouts of the blessed Bishop John, or where were the Bishops Demetrius, Cyriacus, Eulysius, and Palladius, who had accompanied our bishops upon their mission, they could tell us nothing."

The Authors of the Mischief

Bish. Come now, you have had your say, most reverent sir. Now give me your attention, and listen carefully to what I have to tell you; and I will make known to you point by point the public disturbances, worthy of a company of satyrs, which have characterized the whole tragedy, and the sources from which the delirium arose, and the point at which our enemies expected to stop—but they have not stopped yet. Well, the fountain-head and beginning of all the troubles, I suppose one must say, was the devil, the hater of good, who always opposes the reasonable[3] flocks of Christ, pitilessly harassing the experienced shepherds with various kinds of torments, just as the King of Egypt treated the male children

[1] Lampsacus, on the east coast of the Dardanelles. The journey to Hydrun was much longer, but Palladius was not with the western bishops, and makes no remarks upon it. He would naturally be interested to learn whether they had reached Italy safely, and where. Dramatic propriety forbids the subsequent doings of Palladius and his companions being known as yet in Rome; the story continues on p. 178.

[2] Otranto, in South Italy.

[3] Or, "rational" (λογικαῖς); cf. Rom. xii. 1, 1 Pet. ii. 2, where it almost = "spiritual."

of the Jews, and seducing the impostors, the false shepherds, with the deceits of earthly pleasures. The channels conveying the foul effluence, as all the round world knows, are Acacius,[1] Antiochus,[2] Theophilus, and Severianus,[3] who are called what they are not, and really are what they cannot bear to be called; and some of the clerical order, two priests and five deacons, some of them gathered from the unclean, some from the malicious—I do not know if one can safely call such people priests or deacons. Then there are two, or at the most three, from the royal court, who strengthened Theophilus' party, lending them the support of the military; and three women, besides those who are well known, widows, left wealthy, possessed of money made by extortion, to the loss of their own salvation, husband-baiters and disturbers of the peace.[4] The three are Marsa, wife of Promotus, Castricia, wife of Saturninus, and

[1] Bishop of Berœa, who had been sent to Rome, on Chrysostom's initiative (Soz. viii. 3), to secure the recognition of Flavian as Bishop of Antioch by the Western Church. He seems to have been about eighty years old, a man of great ability and influence.

[2] Bishop of Ptolemais; he had visited Constantinople, and being a learned and eloquent speaker (Sozomen adds the interesting note that he was "called by some Chrysostom"), "departed to his own city, having gathered much money" (Soz. viii. 10).

[3] Bishop of Gabala, a friend of Antiochus, who, hearing of Antiochus' success at Constantinople, thought to do the same. He spoke with a rough Syrian accent, but prepared a stock of sermons, and on his arrival was welcomed by Chrysostom, and found favour with the court. When Chrysostom went to Ephesus (p. 125) he entrusted the see to his charge; but he only tried to please the people, and to win them from their affection for their own bishop. Archdeacon Serapion took every opportunity of showing his dislike for him, and reported his doings to Chrysostom, even distorting a remark made by him into a denial of the faith; whereupon Chrysostom expelled him from the city. At Eudoxia's earnest request he was recalled, and each made a public profession of reconciliation, but Serapion never forgave the insult.

[4] Two curious words, apparently of the author's own coinage.

Eugraphia,[1] an absolute maniac. For very shame, I will say no more. These are the men and the women, sluggard-hearted in the matter of the faith, who have formed themselves into a kind of drunken regiment, united in their hatred of Christian teaching, and have organized a flood of destruction against the peace of the Church.

Theodorus desires the Truth, and Nothing but the Truth

Deac. I understand. Now then, father, I beg you to tell us, as in the presence of God, why they hated Bishop John, and what grounds he had for persistently vexing such highly placed people; and let us know where he began his career, and how he reached the episcopal throne of Constantinople, and how long he held office, and his character, and how he came to his death, if it is true that, as we hear, he has fallen asleep.[2] True, the man is universally held in respect and honourable memory; still, I make it a rule not to believe hastily in rumours, until their truth is confirmed by those who have sufficient knowledge to bestow blame or praise.

The Tests of Truth

Bish. I commend your love of accuracy, most truth-loving gentleman and man of God, Theodorus, but I do not accept your distinction. You ought to have been satisfied (excuse a personal remark) by the sight of my white hairs,[3] and by the office I hold, that you had the truth laid before you; but as you have not done so, but a second time call God to be my judge, do promise me an unprejudiced hearing, at least from now, and let me not pipe my chants to no purpose. I know what is written in

[1] Friends of the Empress Eudoxia (see p. 65).

[2] The words show the supposed date of the Dialogue.

[3] In 407, the year of Chrysostom's death, Palladius would be only about forty-three years old. But as he does not represent himself as being the bishop of the Dialogue, the point does not affect the question of authorship.

the divine law—"The Lord shall destroy all them that speak leasing," [1] and in the apostle John, "He who speaketh a lie is not of God," [2] and again in David, "For the mouth of them that speak lies is stopped." [3] It is true that a liar does harm to the man who believes him; but it is also true that he who believes him does wrong to the liar, by being ready to trust him. As both are equally guilty, let neither of us do wrong to his neighbour. It is a virtue in a speaker, to speak the truth, and a virtue in a hearer, to test unrighteous statements; for the Scripture says, "Be ye reliable money-changers," [4] rejecting the spurious from among the genuine coins. We are not to receive everything we hear merely because it rings true,[5] but to weigh it by the testimony of the facts, whether it be spoken or written, with a good conscience, and in the fear of God. Grave is the danger from ears and tongue; this is why God, the good artificer, has caused the tongue to be guarded by two lips, and fixed the rampart of the teeth within, as a secure defence to moderate its activity (as it is written, "Set a watch, O Lord, before my mouth, a door of confinement about my lips, that I offend not with my tongue"),[6] while He has bored the channel of the ears in spiral form. The significance of this shape is, that words do not enter too quickly, as the time occupied by their winding course is sufficient to deposit the crass matter of falsehood, and the sludge of malice, which are left upon the walls of the orifice. Not that these

[1] Ps. v. 6.

[2] An inference from John viii. 44, 45, 1 John ii. 22, 23.

[3] Ps. lxiii. 11.

[4] One of the "agrapha," "non-scriptural sayings" attributed to our Lord, frequently quoted by the Fathers; *e. g.* Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vii. 90; Euseb., *H. E.* vii. 7; Cyr. Alex. *in Joh.* iv. 3; *Clement. Homil.* ii. 51; *Const. Apost.* ii. 36.

[5] The alteration of one letter in the text gives this meaning; "with boasting" gives no sense. It is not enough for a statement to be plausible, and couched in pleasant language; it must be tested by facts.

[6] Ps. xxxix. 1, cxli. 3.

were the only organs upon which He bestowed His care, as though they were the only ones that trip; we find that He has set veils before the eyes, like window curtains, to keep them from admitting the death of licentiousness, to which the prophet bears witness in the words, "Death ascended through the doors." [1]

Grey Hair no Criterion of Truth

Deac. If our inquiry dealt with ordinary matters, most holy father, your appearance would have been enough to guarantee the truth of your account; but as we are in quest of the truth, in a matter which involves no small blame in this world, and condemnation in the next, when rulers and peoples are gathered before the awful tribunal, pardon me, my dear sir, if I do not accept your white hairs as evidence. Many bad men have reached old age, men who have not whitened their souls with virtue, but wrinkled their bodies with the lapse of time; such as were the false priests at Babylon, and Ephraim, in Jeremiah,[2] of whom the Word cries in reproof, "Ephraim is a silly dove, having no heart; grey hairs have blossomed forth upon him, but he himself knoweth it not." [3] And again, more severely, "Ephraim is a cake not turned, and strangers have devoured his strength." [4]

And I must add, at the risk of being prolix, who is whiter, or more amiable, than Acacius of Berea, whom you and your friends accuse of being the rebel chief, and the leader of the revolutionaries in misbehaviour? Yet his very nostrils bore a crop of long white hairs, when he visited Rome to bring the formal announcement of the ordination [5] of John.

[1] Jer. ix. 21.
[2] Jer. vii. 15, "I have cast out the whole seed of Ephraim."
[3] Hos. vii. 9, 11.
[4] Hos. vii. 8, 9.
[5] The same words are used in Greek for what we term the "Consecration" of bishops as for the "Ordination" of other clergy. Two words are generally used by ancient writers:

Bish. Now I know for certain, that you are a reliable money-changer; you are not content with the look of the tent-skins, but insist upon full knowledge of the man who lives inside. The temples of the Egyptians,[1] we know, are very large, and glory in the magnificence of their stones, but have within them apes, and ibises, and dogs, which pass as gods; while our Lord and God, in making known to Samuel His will as to the appointment of a ruler for Israel, instructs him not to look upon the condition and moulding of the body of clay, with the words, "God seeth not as man seeth; for man looketh upon the countenance, but God upon the heart." [2] Hence those who follow the example of God,[3] in everything search out what lies beneath the surface. So I gladly trust myself to you, now that I have found that your scales are free from bias. Those two Babylonians, who were old in body, but perfect infants in their clownish minds, if they had believed in the resurrection of the dead,[4] would have been fortified in wisdom against falling in love with Susanna, the wife of another man; and further, if they had possessed the fear of God, they would not have interwoven false accusations with their licentiousness.[5] The

"laying on of hands," and "stretching forth of hands"—properly expressing "show of hands" in voting, so of appointments generally. Hence it is used on pp. 59, 138 of the appointment of civil governors. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (II. 41) say that "a presbyter lays on hands, but does not stretch forth hands"—"gives a benediction, but does not ordain"—with the implication that the power of appointment, as in the State, has passed from the people to the higher authority. Generally the terms are used with little distinction; our author uses "stretching forth" only. For another word, "catastasis," properly "appointment," see pp. 42, 153.

[1] A small point confirming Palladius' authorship; his residence in Egypt had made him acquainted with these.

[2] 1 Sam. xvi. 7.

[3] Eph. v. 1.

[4] "If I see you seizing the property of others, and otherwise transgressing, how shall I believe you when you say that there is a resurrection?" (*Hom. in* 1 *Cor.* iii.).

[5] "The history of Susanna," in our Apocrypha, is in one MS. of the LXX. chap. xiii. of Daniel.

misuse of youth is a sure proof of dishonour in old age.[1]

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY CAREER OF CHRYSOSTOM

Chrysostom's Birth and Early Years

THIS John was (yes, he has fallen asleep) by birth a man of Antioch, the son of honourable parents, his father[2] holding the office of military commander in Syria; an elder sister was the only other child. He was gifted with unusual ability, and was carefully trained in letters,[3] for the ministry of the oracles[4] of

[1] The text is corrupt, "misuse," lit. "higgling" ("handling deceitfully," R.V. "corrupting," 2 Cor. ii. 17). I have followed Bigot's correction of the nom. "dishonour" to a genitive; but as we prove the present by the past, not vice versa, I should prefer to change the nom. "misuse" to a genitive, and render, "Dishonour in old age is a sure proof of the misuse of youth." Cf. p. 145.

[2] Secundus, "Magister militum et equitum," who died shortly after his son's birth, leaving his wife Anthusa a widow at the age of twenty.

[3] He was taught rhetoric by Libanius, a famous sophist, not only a pagan, but a resolute opponent of the Faith; philosophy by Andragathius. "If I desired the smoothness of Isocrates, the massiveness of Demosthenes, the sublimity of Plato, I must remember St. Paul's words (2 Cor. xi. 6). "All these things I put aside, with all outward adornments" (*de Sacerd.* IV. vi. 37). But these things were part of himself, and his literary remains show that he could not "put them aside." "What wives these Christians have," Libanius said, in reference to Anthusa. He would have wished Chrysostom to succeed him as head of his school, "had not the Christians stolen him." Symeon and the Vita Anonyma say, with some detail, that he went to Athens to study. This, and the miracles they attribute to him later, may be put aside by Savile's consideration, that it is strange that writers, centuries later, should know things which his contemporaries did not.

[4] Rom. iii. 2; 1 Pet. iv. 11.

God. At the age of eighteen, a boy in years, he revolted against the professors of verbosities; and a man in intellect, he delighted in divine learning. At that time the blessed Meletius the Confessor, an Armenian by race, was ruling the Church of Antioch; he noticed the bright lad, and was so much attracted by the beauty of his character, that he allowed him to be continually in his company. His prophetic eye foresaw the boy's future. He was admitted to the mystery [1] of the washing of regeneration, and after three years of attendance [2] on the bishop, advanced to be reader.[3]

But as his conscience would not allow him to be satisfied with work in the city, for youth was hot within him, though his mind was sound, he turned to the neighbouring mountains; here he fell in with an old man named Syrus,[4] living in self-discipline, whose hard life he resolved to share. With him he spent four years, battling with the rocks of pleasure. When

[1] Or, "Sacrament" (p. 57, n.). The postponement of his baptism was probably due, not, as often was the case, to the fear of sinning afterwards, but to the disturbed state of the Church of Antioch, where dissensions between the orthodox and the Arians were almost continuous. Anthusa would hesitate to present her son to one of whose orthodoxy there was any doubt.

[2] The word in 1 Cor. ix. 13. Such attendants were later organized into the order of Acolytes, "followers," next to that of sub-deacons in the Latin Church; their duties being to light the candles, and attend with the wine for the Eucharist. Some think that they accompanied the bishop wherever he went. Theophilus apparently took one such with him to Constantinople (see p. 68), where he is called "young servant," like Elisha's "minister" in 2 Kings vi. 14.

[3] Chrysostom's teachers were Carterius and Diodorus, Bishop of Tarsus, who held a kind of "Scripture study school," called by Sozomen "asceterion," for young men. Chrysostom persuaded two other of Libanius' students, Theodorus and Maximus, afterwards Bishops of Mopsuestia and Seleucia respectively, to renounce the world, and in the case of Maximus, to break off his engagement to a lady he dearly loved, and devote themselves to Christian service. For "reader" cf. p. 7.

[4] George says, "Hesychius, a Syrian."

he found it more easy to master these, not so much by toil as by reason,[1] he retired to a cave by himself, in his eagerness to hide himself from the world, and there spent twenty-four months, for the greater part of which he denied himself sleep, while he studied the covenants[2] of Christ, the better to dispel ignorance. Two years spent without lying down by night or day deadened his gastric organs, and the functions of the kidneys were impaired by the cold.[3] As he could not doctor himself, he returned to the haven of the Church.

And here we see the providence of the Saviour, in withdrawing him by his infirmity, for the good of the Church, from ascetic toils, and compelling him by this obstacle of ill-health to leave the caves.[4]

Chrysostom as Deacon and Priest.

Next, after serving the altar for five years, he was ordained deacon[5] by Meletius. By this time his brilliant abilities as a teacher were famous, and the

[1] "I was in the full vigour of my age, and needed, not discourse, but bodily hardships."—Pall., *L. H.*, i. 4.

Chr. tells us in his *De Sacerdotio*, that Anthusa desired, by consideration of her widowhood and her sufferings for his sake, to restrain his enthusiasm for the ascetic life; it was probably after her death that he entered upon it (A.D. 374–5), as George and Vit. Anon. say.

[2] The Old and New Testaments—more correctly "Covenants."

[3] He never recovered his health; see pp. 98, 125: "I have a cobweb body" (*Ep.* iv.).

[4] He never lost his admiration for the ascetic life. "Monks in monasteries live a life suitable to heaven, and no worse than that of angels, free from quarrels and anxieties." But his sound common sense showed him that there was not one standard for the monk, another for the citizen. "I do not prescribe that a man should take to the mountains or the desert, but that he be good, and sweetly reasonable, and sober, while dwelling in the midst of the city." "All the precepts of the law are common to us and the monks, except in regard to marriage" (*in Matt.* vii.).

[5] In 381, at the age of thirty-six; he wrote his treatises *On the Priesthood* and *On Virginity* during his diaconate.

people found in intercourse with him sweet refreshment from the bitterness of life; Bishop Flavianus [1] therefore ordained him presbyter. For twelve years he was a shining light in the Church of Antioch, lending dignity to the priesthood there by the strictness of his life; some he salted with sobriety, some he illuminated by his teaching, some he refreshed with draughts of the spirit. Thus all was fair sailing under the steersmanship of Christ, when the blessed [2] Nectarius,[3] bishop of the Church of Constantinople, fell asleep. Immediately a crowd of people who were not called for rushed forward to secure the supreme position—men who were not men, presbyters by office, yet unworthy of the priesthood; some battering at the doors of officials, others offering bribes, others again going on their knees to the populace. The orthodox laity were much disturbed by all this, and importuned the king with petitions for an experienced priest.

[1] Meletius died in 381, during the Council of Constantinople, leaving a rival bishop, Paulinus. It was said that six of the leading clergy of Antioch had agreed, that on the death of either of these, they would recognize the survivor as sole bishop. Yet Flavian, one of the six, was consecrated, and the schism continued. Socr., vi. 3, says that "on the death of Meletius, Chrysostom left his party, nor did he communicate with Paulinus, but lived in retirement for three years; on Paulinus' death he was ordained priest by Evagrius, Paulinus' successor"—whose episcopate was very brief, Flavian's title being hereafter recognized. Sozomen does not name the bishop who ordained him, but Socrates is in error.

[2] *i. e.* "the late."

[3] A man of senatorial rank, chosen as Bishop of Constantinople by the Emperor, being only a catechumen, and consecrated "while still wearing the white vestments of a neophyte" (Soz. vii. 8); though such a departure from Apostolic rule (1 Tim. v. 22) was forbidden by the second Canon of Nicæa. Cyprian, Ambrose, and Eusebius of Cæsarea were other exceptions to the rule. Nectarius was more of a courtier than a bishop, and his social relations with the great ones of the city established a precedent which caused Chrysostom's strictness to be severely criticized (p. 99).

Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople

The most influential man of affairs was Eutropius [1] the eunuch, chief of the royal chamberlains. It was his wish to have John in charge of the city, as he had gained some experience of his high character when some business of the king took him to the further East; so he advised the king to send instructions to the governor [2] of Antioch, to send John quietly out of the city, without disturbing the Church. The governor, immediately on receipt of the letter, summoned him to present himself at the shrines of the

[1] When Theodosius died (395) he committed Honorius to the charge of the famous general Stilicho, who had married his sister, and Arcadius to Rufinus, a man of low birth who had raised himself by his wits, and urged the Emperor Arcadius in like manner to marry his daughter. Arcadius agreed; but Eutropius, the equally self-made rival of Rufinus, plotted with Stilicho to ruin him, and on the very day appointed for the marriage, the Imperial wedding gifts were taken to the house, not of Rufinus, but of Eudoxia, a lady who hated Eutropius, as he had brought about her guardian's death. Stilicho's soldiers killed Rufinus, and Eutropius seized his property. But he made himself equally unpopular by his pride and ambition, and his sale of State offices; Gainas (p. 122) demanded his death, and Eudoxia supported the request, which was granted. Eutropius had shortly before secured the passing of a law, abolishing the right of asylum in churches; now he fled to the altar of the church, imploring protection. Chrysostom refused to surrender him, even when summoned before the Emperor, and preached two sermons on the vanity of human things, the first while the ex-minister lay prostrate at the altar in abject terror. By these he aroused much ill-will from Eutropius' friends, and from the upper classes generally, through his harsh treatment, as was alleged, of a man in misfortune, his condemnation of riches, and his insistence upon the power of the Church. Eutropius was banished to Cyprus, where he was presently killed; the law forbidding asylum was annulled.

[2] "Comes," "companion," our "count"; a companion of or attendant upon a magistrate; later, a person in the suite of an emperor, so an official in charge of a department. "The Emperor had as many comites as he had duties." So there was a "comes" of the Imperial purse, stables, etc.; "comes" of Britain, Egypt, the East, etc.; until the title took the place of "dux" for the military governor of a province or district.

martyrs,[1] outside the city, near the gate known as Romanesia; where he put him in a public conveyance, and entrusted him to the care of the eunuch sent by Eutropius, and the magistrate's guard. Thus he reached Constantinople, and was ordained bishop of the Church of that city.[2]

Theophilus' Hostility

Now Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, as he observed his bearing,[3] and the irreproachable outspokenness of his language, was from the beginning

[1] "As if to inquire about something" (Sozomen). The governor was Asterius. Churches were very frequently built over a martyr's grave, as the souls of them that were slain were seen "beneath the altar" (Rev. vi. 9). The thought is not limited to any one religion, that the spirits of the dead hover about the resting-place of their bodies. There was such a shrine at Palladius' own city of Helenopolis (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* iv. 61). Cf. pp. 62, 80, 95.

[2] This was upon a resolution of both clergy and laity, who either knew him personally, or had heard of his fame. The people were anxious to have one whom they knew to be ready to denounce wrong doings; not so the rich, and those in power (Soz. viii. 2). Possibly Eutropius proposed him, hoping to secure for the Emperor the support of such a capable man. The day of the ordination was February 26, 398.

[3] *προσχὼν αὐτοῦ τῇ καταστάσει.* The meaning is doubtful. Our author uses the word for "observing" in this sense on p. 77; in the liturgies it is the "Let us attend" before the reading of scripture. Palladius twice uses it so in *L. H.* But it also means "was foremost" or simply "was present." Again, the word for "bearing," so used just below, is frequent in Church writings for "consecration" (originally "appointment" of civil officers); p. 133. Hence some interpret "was chief consecrator"; though this makes the grammar of the next sentence awkward. It is likely that Theophilus, as bishop of such an important see, should be chief consecrator, but it is doubtful if that is here stated. Socrates says simply, "he ordained him." Theophilus was anxious to secure the consecration of Isidore, whom he had employed on a certain discreditable mission some years before, upon which he wished to buy his silence. But the matter was known to many of the bishops assembled in Constantinople, and Eutropius showed him some documents, giving him his choice between ordaining Chrysostom, and taking his

bitterly opposed [1] to his ordination. For Theophilus is very clever at judging faces; the will and mind of a man are not easy to read.[2]

Deac. One moment, father. I must raise a slight objection.

Bish. What is your difficulty?

Deac. If Theophilus is so sharp-sighted, how is it that he was unaware that if he expelled John from his see, he would disturb the whole world?

Bish. There is nothing wonderful in this, my dear sir; even the demons recognized the advent of the Saviour, and yet were unaware that they would be made powerless by a single breath from those who believed in Him.

Deac. Where do we find that they recognized the Saviour's presence?

Bish. When they cried, "We know Thee who Thou art, the holy one of God; why hast Thou come to torment us before the time?" [3] You see that they knew, even then, that He is not only holy, but also judge. But apart from demons, unfortunate prostitutes recognize men of self-control from the bearing of their eyes, and avoid them, just as a diseased eye avoids the light of the sun, or the vulture sweet scent. How is it that "Godliness is an abomination to sinners," if they cannot recognize godliness? So it was that Theophilus, not finding anything in John's face corresponding to his own eye, or that which he desired to find, inferred his hostility, as a matter of unsupported conjecture.

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trial on the charges they contained (it must be said that Theophilus' subsequent treatment of Isidore does not support this account, given by Socrates).

[1] A variant reading for an unusual word meaning "lost his spirit," "fainted"; this will mean either "he was deeply mortified at his ordination," or "he consented with a bad grace to ordain him," or perhaps, as Socrates says, "he was frightened [by Eutropius] into ordaining him."

[2] The text is corrupt. I would suggest "he is very clever at reading the invisible will and mind of a man from his visible countenance."

[3] Mark i. 24; Matt. viii. 29.

Deac. You surprise me, father. But why did he oppose his ordination?

Bish. It was always his policy not to ordain good and sensible men, except by inadvertence, as he wished them all to be weak-minded persons, over whom he could dominate; he thought it better to dominate over weak-minded men than to hear the wisdom of the prudent. None the less, willing or unwilling, he had to yield to saving Providence.

Reforms of the Life of the Clergy

Thus John was ordained, and entered upon the care of affairs. At first, he tested his flock by playing to them upon the pipe of reason. But occasionally he exercised the staff of correction [1] as well; he inveighed against the mode of life, white-washed under the name of "brotherly life," which he called by its right name of "evil life," in connection with the women known as "introduced." [2] He showed it to be worse, if a choice of evils had to be made, than that of brothel-keepers; for they live far from the surgery, and keep the disease to themselves, for those who desire it, while the "brothers" live within the workshop of salvation, and invite healthy people to come and catch the disease. This caused great indignation to those among the clergy who were without the love of God, and blazing with passion.

[1] "Being naturally disposed to correction" (Soz.).

[2] *i. e.* as housekeepers. As the clergy were not allowed to marry after ordination, they had to have women to keep house for them; some of these were young, some even women of the Church under vows of virginity, claiming to live with them as sisters in devotion. The Nicene Council (Can. III.) forbade the introduction of any woman but a mother, a sister, an aunt, or other person above suspicion; a rule frequently enforced by later councils. Chrysostom issued two treatises against the practice; their date is uncertain, but this narrative suggests that they appeared now. He admits that there has been no great amount of actual wrong-doing, but points out that scandal must inevitably arise, and makes it clear that these women were in many cases leading the lives of smart society ladies.

Reform of the Life of the Laity

He next took action against injustice, pulling down avarice, that metropolis of evils, to build an habitation of righteousness. This is characteristic of wise master-builders, first to pull down the habitation of falsehood, and then to lay the foundation of truth, as it is said in the prophet, "I have set thee over peoples and kingdoms, to root up and to plant, to dig down and to rebuild." [1] The first expressions refer to his work as husbandman, the second as a builder. Next, he disturbed the numerous purse-worshippers, and then attended to their manner of life, urging them to be content with their own earnings, and not to be always dangling after the savoury odours of the rich. To follow smoke as their torch-bearer meant handing themselves over to the fire of licence; this was the result of following the life of the flatterer and the parasite. Then, most of the gluttons were dug out of their holes, and the sharp people who bring false accusations shared the same fate.

Reform of Church Finance

Then he examined the account books of the Church treasurer, and found expenditure which was of no benefit to the Church; these grants he ordered to be stopped. This brought him to another financial question—the bishop's expenditure. Here he found extraordinary extravagance, and ordered the large sums so spent to be transferred to the hospital.[2] As

[1] Jer. i. 10. Chrysostom's writings are full of denunciations of wealth, and exhortations to charity. "Of all the fathers of the fourth century, he is the panegyrist *par excellence* of almsgiving" (Puech).

[2] According to Suetonius, it was the custom at Rome to carry sick folks to the temple of Æsculapius, on an island in the Tiber, to die there, so as to save the trouble of attending to them. Jerome tells us that the first hospital was founded by a Christian matron, Fabiola. Chrysostom followed the lead of Basil, who had erected a very large hospital at Cæsarea, in charge of a "local bishop."

the need of treatment was very great, he erected other hospitals, over which he appointed two devout priests, as well as doctors and cooks, and kindly workers from among his celibates to assist them; so that strangers coming to the city, and there falling ill, could obtain medical care, as a thing which was not only good in itself, but also for the glory of the Saviour.

Reform of the Order of Widows

Then he summoned the members of the order [1] of widows, and made a searching investigation into cases of misconduct; some, whom he found too fond of carnal pursuits, he admonished either to adopt the practice of fasting, and to abstain from the bath [2] and from over-dressing, or else to proceed without delay to a second marriage, that the law of the Lord might not be brought into disrepute.

Reform of Devotion

Next, he urged the people to join in the intercessions [3] offered during the night,[4] as the men had no

[1] 1 Tim. v. 3 shows that from the first there was a "catalogue" of Church widows; probably those needing relief (Acts vi. 1). Presently it became clear that their care needed the work of women, as well as that of the deacons, and some of the elder widows were put in charge of the rest. In some parts of the Church only widows who had borne children, who were of considerable age, and who had been but once married, were admitted as deaconesses. Olympias is a noted exception (p. 150). Thus it appears that the order of deaconesses (p. 86) sprang from the order of widows.

[2] The public baths in a great city were enormous buildings, where much time was wasted in bodily pleasure, gossip flourished, and immorality lurked. It was better for those who had to set a high standard of life, to accept physical rather than moral uncleanness. Cf. p. 115.

[3] "Litanies." The *Apostolical Constitutions* (viii. 6) give us an early form, the deacon "bidding" the prayer, or naming the subjects of intercession, while the people answer, "Lord, have mercy." Cf. p. 137.

[4] Pliny mentions the night services of the Christians, when they "sang praises to Christ as God." Chrysostom recommends them in his *Hom. in Ps.* cxix. ("At midnight I will

leisure during the day, while their wives were to stay at home, and say their prayers by day. All this annoyed the less strenuous clergy, who made a practice of sleeping all night.

Then he put his hand to the sword of correction against the rich, lancing the abscesses of their souls, and teaching them humility and courtesy towards others. In this he followed the apostolic precept to Timothy, "Charge them who are rich in this world not to be high-minded, nor to trust in uncertain riches." [1]

Results of these Reforms

As the result of these reforms, the Church put forth daily more abundant blossoms; the tone [2] of the whole city was changed to piety, men delighting their souls with soberness and psalmody. But the devil, who hates all that is good, could not tolerate the escape of those whom he held in dominion, now taken from his grasp by the word of the Lord through the teaching of John; so much so, that the horse-racing and theatre-going fraternity left the courts of the devil, and hastened to the fold [3] of the Saviour, in their love for the pipe of the shepherd who loves his sheep.

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rise," etc.) and cxxxii. "At night our prayers are more pure, our minds lighter, our leisure more abundant"; hence "the poor abide in Church from midnight until dawn in prayer, and holy vigils are linked together, by day and by night" (*Hom. in Is.* iv.). The services consisted chiefly of psalms, of which twelve were in time fixed upon as the normal use. At this time the Arians in Constantinople had been organizing street processions, with singing of litanies, by night; Chrysostom arranged for rival processions, for which the Empress supplied silver candlesticks. The two parties naturally came to blows.

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 17. [2] Lit. "colour."

[3] "Some of those present yesterday have since then sat in the theatres, and gazed at the procession of the devil" (*Or.* xc.). The circus was a fruitful source of iniquity, frequently condemned by Chrysostom (*c. Anom.* vii. 1; *de Laz.* vii. 1). During his first year at Constantinople, he preached a sermon "Against the games and the theatres," after a tumultuous race-meeting held on Good Friday, in which many Christians had joined.

CHAPTER VI

THE BEGINNING OF TROUBLE

The Plot against Chrysostom

In consequence of this, envy took possession of the minds of the hireling shepherds, who were by implication convicted. As they could not get the better of him, because they did not call upon the Saviour, the destroyer of envy, they devised various slanders against John; representing certain homilies of his as jests at the expense of the queen and of the royal court.[1]

Now it happened that just at this time Acacius, Bishop of Berea, paid him a visit, and according to his own statement, was not given a decent lodging; he was much vexed at this, and swelled with indignation at what he regarded as a slight put upon him by John. Unable to control his feelings, he indulged in a witless witticism, "out of the abundance of his heart," [2] worthy of his great mind.[3] He said in the presence of some of John's clergy, "I am seasoning a pot for him." At once he threw in his lot with Severianus and Antiochus, and Isaac Syriscus, the leading spirit of the impostor monks,[4] a plausible

[1] His condemnations of luxury were said to be specially aimed at the Empress, into whose hands the chief power in the State had fallen since the death of Eutropius; cf. p. 72. From this time forward, as our other authorities show, the good-will she had hitherto borne to him turned to enmity, growing more and more bitter until, with the help of Theophilus and his party, she had accomplished his ruin.

[2] Matt. xii. 34.

[3] Or, "Of his drunken madness."

[4] "Chrysostom continually showed his high esteem for monks, and saw to their necessities; but those who left the monasteries, and appeared in the city, he abused" (Socrates). It is evident that a large number of indigent persons came to the capital to trade upon the Christian generosity of rich ladies (p. 152). For Isaac, see p. 70.

rascal, who spent all his time in abuse of bishops. These worthies looked themselves out arms, nominally against John, but really against the glory of the Saviour.

First, they sent to Antioch, and tried to discover any youthful offences of his. But as "they that seek failed," [1] and found nothing, they sent messengers to Alexandria, to the unprincipled Theophilus, known as "weather-cock," [2] who was very clever at engineering such things. He at once opened the books of his mind, with all the stealth of a thief, and set himself to find any pretext whatever for taking action.

The Charge of a Breach of Canon Law

Deac. Stay the torrent of your words, father, before I forget what is in my mind, and let me tell you the charge which reached us from Alexandria, and generally gained acceptance. The story is, that John received into communion some clergy who had been deposed by Theophilus. This improper action annoyed Theophilus, who in consequence had a disagreement with John, and proceeded to act against him.

Bish. Granted that the popular account is true; still, is it for a bishop to remedy evil by evil? What then of the gospel saying, "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath"? [3] Or of the apostle's words, "Overcome evil with good"? [4] Or the prophet's, "If I have rewarded evil to them that dealt evil to me"? [5] Surely, then, it would have been more gallant for him, in dealing with devout bishops, to say, Brother John, in inadvertence you have done this or that? And for John to be able to plead in self-defence, that he knew nothing about the matter?

Deac. That is true, provided that his will was

[1] Ps. lxiv. 6.

[2] "Amphallax," "alternating," used for a tragic actor's high-heeled buskins, which fitted either foot. Bunyan's "Mr. Facing-both-ways."

[3] Eph. iv. 26. [4] Rom. xii. 21. [5] Ps. vii. 5, LXX.

good, and that he was not trumping up the charge of befriending these clergy to satisfy his private animosity.

Bish. Then, by the fear of God, Who ruleth over the illimitable fears, I swear that I will speak no word that is not consonant with fact, in regard to these clergy of whom you speak.

Isidore and the Widow's Gift

There was one Isidore,[1] one of the priests ordained by the blessed Athanasius the Great, still surviving, in his eightieth year. Most of the people of Rome know him, as he visited the city on ecclesiastical business, as the guest-master[2] of the Church of Alexandria; and you know him yourselves, from his coming with Acacius to convey the announcement of the establishment of communion[3] between Flavianus and Theophilus,[4] after it had been interrupted for twenty years, on account of the blessed Evagrius,[5] who fought many a fight in the course of his labours for the good of the Church. The widow of one of the great men of the city gave this Isidore a thousand

[1] Theophilus' candidate for the see of Constantinople. He had spent his youth as a monk at Nitria, and was famous for his piety. Sozomen says that he had embittered Theophilus against himself, by giving evidence in favour of Peter, the "arch-priest" of Alexandria, in regard to a charge brought by Theophilus against him. See p. 42, n.

[2] Most large cities and monasteries had a "Xenodochium," or hospice, for the reception of stranger Christians bearing letters of commendation. Can. X. of Chalcedon forbids a stranger to be concerned with the affairs of the shrines, the poor-houses, or the hospices of a Church.

[3] Lit. "the communion," cf. p. 21.

[4] See p. 40, n. The Churches of Rome and Alexandria at first refused to recognize Flavian as Bishop of Antioch; shortly after Paulinus' death Chrysostom negotiated successfully with Theophilus, and Flavian "left no stone unturned to restore harmony." Acacius and Isidore were sent to Damasus of Rome, and secured his recognition of Flavian.

[5] Paulinus' successor, for a brief space, at Antioch. Theophilus evidently wished the arrangement made by the six clergy to be carried out (p. 40).

gold pieces,[1] putting him under oath by the table of the Saviour, for the purchase of clothes for the poor women of Alexandria; he was not to mention the matter to Theophilus, for fear that he would take the money, and spend it on his stones. For Theophilus is obsessed, like Pharaoh, with a craving for stone[2] for buildings, of which the Church stands in no need. Never mind that now; I want to come to the point about Isidore.

Isidore took the money, and spent it for the benefit of the poor women and widows. Theophilus somehow got to know; nothing could escape him, wherever done or spoken, with his gang of spies and eavesdroppers, not to call them anything else. He summoned Isidore, and with apparent civility asked if his information was true. Isidore did not deny it, and gave an account of his dealings in the matter. On hearing this, Theophilus changed his behaviour, and he who a moment before, when he made the inquiry, was gentle and kindly, next moment swelled all over his body with wrath; his very appearance changed, when Isidore's answer reached his ears.

Theophilus' Accusation of Isidore

He kept quiet for a while, like a dog that bites you when you are off your guard, but two months later convened the clergy, before whom he produced a document, and said in the presence of Isidore: "I received this charge against you, Isidore, eighteen years ago; but as I was very busy, I forgot the matter. Just now, as I was looking up some other papers, I found this document, which concerns you. What have you to say in defence?" The paper contained a charge of sodomy.

[1] Lat. "aureus," of the value of twenty-five denarii, about 18*s.* 6*d.*

[2] "Lithomania." "Isidore said it was better to restore the bodies of the sick, which are more properly the temples of God, than to build walls" (Soz. viii. 12; he does not mention this case of the widow). Isidore of Pelusium calls Theophilus "the gold-maniac and litholater." Cf. p. 115.

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Isidore began his defence by saying to Theophilus: "Granted that it is true, that you received the paper, and also that it slipped your memory, was not the man who presented the memorial available for a second inquiry?" Theophilus answered, "No; the lad did not appear, as he was a sailor." Then Isidore: "He did not appear at the moment, as you say, Pope; did he not appear after his voyage? Did he not appear the year after, or the year after that? It is not too late even now; if he is here, tell the fellow to stand forth."

Theophilus Excommunicates Isidore

Hereupon Theophilus, finding himself likely to be humiliated in face of the actual truth, adjourned the inquiry to another day; and by large promises induced a boy to lay an accusation against Isidore, giving him a bribe, it is said, of twenty-five gold pieces, which he at once handed over to his mother. The mother refused to accept the money, deterred partly by the thought of the unbiassed Eye, partly by fear of the laws of the land; she reflected that Isidore, if falsely accused, might appeal to the magistrate.[1] So she came and told Isidore the whole story, and showed him the coins, which she said she had received from Theophilus' sister as "a reward against the innocent."[2] The woman paid the due penalty for her many sins, and for this one in particular; she died under an operation on the breasts. All this time Isidore stayed at home, making supplication to God. The boy, partly in fear of the laws, partly at the thought of Theophilus' rage at his failure, fled to the efficacious protection of the Church, and took refuge at the altar.[3]

Thus, on a revolting allegation, the rights of which were never heard, Theophilus declared Isidore to be outcast from the Church; a solemn farce to disguise his own wickedness. Isidore now took alarm, lest

[1] The "tribune of the people."
[2] Ps. xv. 5.
[3] See p. 41, n.

Theophilus in his increasing fury should take measures against his personal safety (for by all accounts, he actually went as far as this), and made his way with all speed to the community of monks of the mountain of Nitria,[1] where he had spent his youth; here he sat in his cell, and addressed himself in prayer to the long-suffering God.[2]

The Charge of Origenism

Meanwhile Theophilus, conscious of the indecency and doubtfulness of his victory, sent letters to the neighbouring bishops, ordering some of the principal monks, the heads of the monasteries, to be expelled from the mountain and from the further desert, without giving his reasons. These monks went down to Alexandria, with their priests, and begged Theophilus to state the grounds on which they were condemned to expulsion. Theophilus stared at them, like a dragon, with bloodshot eyes, glaring like a bull; in his uncontrollable temper, he was livid one moment, pale the next, the next again smiling sarcastically. He took the tippet[3] upon the shoulders of the aged Ammonius, and twisted it round his neck with his own hands, punching him in the face, making his nose bleed with his clenched fists, and

[1] About sixty miles south of Alexandria, "so called from the neighbouring village, in which they collect nitre" (Sozomen). There were fifty monasteries there, containing 5000 monks (so Pall., *L. H.*), some living a community, some an isolated life.

[2] Theodore Trim. says that seven Egyptian bishops, whom he names, and twenty-two clergy, wrote about this matter to Innocent; who remonstrated in vain with Theophilus.

[3] "Omophorion," a long band of white woollen stuff, draped over the shoulders with the ends depending before and behind; originally a piece of civil dress, retained by the Church as in the case of other vestments, and in time acquiring an ecclesiastical and then a symbolical significance. Apparently all bishops wore it in the east; afterwards, as the Roman "pallium," it was conferred first by the Emperors, then by the bishops of Rome, upon great prelates, as by Gregory upon St. Augustine of Canterbury.

shouting, "Anathematize Origen,[1] you heretic!" when the only point at issue was the petition on behalf of Isidore. This is the way with bad tempers; their actions and words are like puppies, born blind. So they returned, all bloodstained, to their monasteries, without receiving an answer; and continued their usual life of austerity, sharpening their natural powers by the study of the scriptures, through which we win salvation. They thought the less of the man's frenzy, because they were conscious of their own innocence.

[1] Ammonius and Dioscorus (p. 147) were two of four "Tall Brothers," famous for their piety in the monastery of Mt. Nitria; so much honoured by Theophilus, that he made Dioscorus Bishop of Hermopolis, and brought two others into Alexandria, making them stewards of the Church revenues. Observing Theophilus' character and architectural extravagances, they pleaded the attraction of the desert, and returned to their seclusion; when Theophilus discovered the true reason for this, he determined to ruin them, by stirring up their fellow-monks against them. Many of the monks were illiterate men, who took literally scripture expressions, such as "The eyes of the Lord," and said that God had a body. Theophilus issued a pastoral, explaining that these were symbolical expressions, which was the principle followed by Origen in his "Mystical" interpretation of Holy Scripture, 200 years before. The monks protested, lamenting that Theophilus had "taken away their God"; Theophilus assured their deputation that he, like them, condemned Origen's views. But Dioscorus and Ammonius set their faces against such "anthropomorphism," and so gave Theophilus the opportunity he wanted of inflaming the illiterate monks against them. He informed them that Dioscorus' party, following Origen, were introducing a "blasphemous dogma," and issued a pastoral condemning the views which he had just before upheld. Chrysostom knew nothing of all this at the time.

CHAPTER VII

THEOPHILUS, THE MONKS AND CHRYSOSTOM

Synodical Action against the Monks

Not content with this, Theophilus sent to the neighbouring bishops, and convened a synod to condemn the monks; without calling them to defend themselves, or letting them speak a word, he declared outcast three of the most eminent of them (he was afraid to issue sentence of punishment upon the whole body at once), trumping up a charge of perversion of doctrine. The very men whom he had often honoured above bishops as teachers, for their lives, their gifts of speech, and their length of service, he was not ashamed to call impostors, for their attitude towards Isidore. Following up this declaration, he secured [1] five mannikins from Mount Nitria itself, who never had a place in the chapter-meeting of the elders of the desert, creatures not fit, much as it pains me to say so, to keep the doors; one of them he ordained bishop, and as he had not a city at his disposal, placed him in charge of a little village. He had no scruples about revolutionary acts, as he called himself a second Moses. Another he ordained priest, and the other three deacons. These were not Egyptians, but from different countries—one from Libya, one from Alexandria, one from Pharana, one from Paralus; as they had no hope of making anything out of their native countries, they fell in with his ridiculous measures.

Appeal to the Civil Authority

Next, he persuaded them to present memorials against the three excommunicate bishops, concocting the terms of the accusation himself; their only contribution was the signature. This done, he

[1] Lit. "anointed" (p. 14).

accepted the memorials from them in the presence of the Church, and proceeded to the governor under the crown,[1] with whom he lodged a representation against them in his own name, as archbishop of the diocese of Egypt,[2] together with the falsely incriminating memorials, demanding the expulsion of the men, with the help of the military, from every part of Egypt.

Savage Attack upon the Monasteries

Armed with the governor's order, and taking the military with him to cover his doings, he gathered a mob of ruffians, who cared nothing about dignities, and fell upon the monasteries in the dead of night, after priming his young fellows with liquor. First, he ordered their saintly brother Dioscorus, bishop of the mountain, to be expelled from his throne, literally dragged away by Ethiopian slaves, probably unbaptized[3] into the bargain, and took possession of his

[1] "The Augustalian"; as in Pall., *L. H.*, xlvi. 3, "the prefect"; app. used only of the governor of Egypt.

[2] Lit. "Arch-priest of the diocese of Egypt." "Diocese" and "eparchy" or "province," as we saw, have the same meaning (p. 12); the expression = "Metropolitan of the province." The sixth Canon of Nicæa says, "Let the ancient customs prevail, in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have authority over all of these, since a similar custom holds in regard to the Bishop of Rome; and also in Antioch and the other provinces (eparchiæ). No one may be made bishop without the approval of the Metropolitan." The thirtieth of Chalcedon speaks of "the archbishop in the diocese of Egypt, of the capital of the Alexandrians." This province or diocese was the largest in the world, containing six civil provinces, with nearly one hundred bishops, thirty more than those under the Bishop of Rome. The Metropolitan had the unique privilege of ordaining not only these suffragan bishops, but every priest and deacon in the province.

[3] "Unenlightened." In Heb. vi. 4 the reference is to baptism. "This washing is called enlightenment, because those who learn these things have their minds enlightened" (Justin Mart. *Apol.* II. So often from his time forward). "I know many who have sinned in expectation of enlightenment; but God gave us baptism to set free from sins, not to increase them" (*Hom. in Heb.* xiii.).

see,[1] which since the coming of Christ had been in the possession of the city of Dioscorus. Next, he raided the mountain, and gave the trifling property of the monks to his youths; when he had stripped the cells, he searched for the three bishops, whom they had let down into a well, putting rushes upon its mouth. As he could not find them, he set their cells on fire with faggots, burning up with them all their copies of the canonical[2] scriptures, and other valuable writings, as well as a boy (so eye-witnesses said), and the sacred elements.[3]

Flight of the Monks to Palestine

When he had thus relieved his senseless fury, he went down again to Alexandria, giving the saintly men an opportunity of escape; they at once took their sheepskin habits, and fled to Palestine, making their way to Aelia,[4] accompanied by 300 of the

[1] "Parœcia," our "parish"; St. Peter's word for "sojourning" (1 Pet. i. 17, ii. 11), taken from the LXX (cf. Eph. ii. 19, contrasted with Heb. xi. 13, xiii. 14). So the word came to be used for the Christians "sojourning amid the heathen" in any one place—the "parœcia"—organized under a bishop. In Nic. Can. XVI. wandering clergy are ordered to return to their parœciæ, and no other bishop is to ordain them, without the consent of the bishop whom they have deserted.

[2] *ἐνδιαθέτους*. Cf. Euseb. *H. E.*, vi. 25.

[3] "The symbols of the mysteries." Not all monks were in Holy Orders; so Socrates speaks of it as an unusual thing that Theophilus had honoured two of the "Tall Brothers" with the clerical dignity. Palladius similarly speaks of one Macarius (*L. H.*, xvii. 25); but as abstinence from the mysteries for five weeks was a grave offence (*ibid.* xvii. 9), the elements were reserved. "All they who dwell alone in the deserts, where there is no priest, keep the Communion at home, and receive it at their own hands" (Basil, *Ep.* xciii.). For the use of the word, cf. Theodoret *Ep.* cxxx., "The symbols do not lose their natural characteristics. . . . Christ taking the symbols at the giving of the mysteries said . . ."; Dionysius the Areopagite, "The sacred symbols are placed upon the altar."

[4] *i. e.* Jerusalem. Sozomen (viii. 13) says they went to Scythopolis, as "there were there many palm trees, the leaves of which they used for the usual work of monks"—basket-making.

worthy monks of the mountain, and a body of priests and deacons. The rest were scattered abroad in different places.

Theophilus pursues Them

The serpent who creeps by crooked ways could not tolerate their freedom, and again stirred up Theophilus against them; boiling with rage, he wrote letters to the bishops of Palestine, as follows: "You ought not to have received these men into your cities, contrary to my judgment; but as you did it in ignorance, I grant you pardon. Look to it then in the future, that you admit them neither into ecclesiastical, nor into private premises." In the extravagance of his pride, he not only said, but actually imagined that he was a god.

The Monks arrive at Constantinople

The fugitives, sorely distressed by this continual movement from place to place, arrived at the capital,[1] where Bishop John had been enthroned under the good hand of God for the spiritual care of our rulers; they fell at his feet, begging him to help souls slandered and plundered by men better accustomed to this sort of thing than to doing good.

Appeal to Chrysostom

John stood up, and saw fifty first-rate men, their habits worn grey with their holy toils. With his keen sense of brotherly love, he was deeply moved, and bursting, like Joseph, into tears, inquired what wild boar from the forests, or rogue beast, had been doing mischief to this fruitful vine. "Be seated, father," they answered; "give us dressings for our ghastly wounds, inflicted through the frenzy of Pope Theophilus, and see if you can bind up our swelling gashes. If even you give us no attention, through respect to,

[1] "Stratopedon," lit. "the camp"; "the place where the Emperor resides" (Balsamon); the theory of the "Imperator" was, that he was commander-in-chief of the forces.

or fear of, Theophilus, as the other bishops have done, there is nothing left for us to do, but to go to the king, and inform him of this man's ill-doings, to the disrepute of the Church. If then you have any concern for the good name of the Church, receive our petition, and persuade him to allow us our home in Egypt. We have committed no offence, either against the law of the Saviour or against the Pope himself."

Chrysostom's Dealings with the Monks

John thought that he would have no difficulty in changing the revengeful feelings of Theophilus towards them, and gladly took the matter in hand. He instructed the men, for the love of God, to keep silence, and to tell no one why they were there, until he should send word to his brother Theophilus. He gave them sleeping-quarters in the Church of the Resurrection,[1] but did not supply them with any of the necessities of life. Some godly women provided them with food, and they made their own contribution by the labours of their hands.

It happened that at that time there were some of Theophilus' clergy in Constantinople, who had come to purchase promotion from the newly-appointed [2] governors in the province [3] of Egypt, and to secure their favour towards him, in carrying out his plans for the destruction of those who were an annoyance to him. So John called these men, and inquired if they knew the ascetics who were in the city. They frankly gave the men a good character. "We know them," they told John; "it is true that they have been treated with great violence. If it please you, my lord, refuse them communion in the spiritual

[1] The church in which Gregory Nazianzen began his ministry in Constantinople; here Chrysostom preached several courses of homilies. Another church in Constantinople was that of "Holy Peace."

[2] The word ("stretching out hands") commonly used for "ordaining"; cf. p. 36, n. Socrates so uses it.

[3] "Dioecesis."

feast, so as not to annoy the Pope, but deal kindly with them in everything else. This will be expected of you, as bishop."

Chrysostom's Letter to Theophilus

So John did not receive them into communion,[1] but wrote to Theophilus, courteously asking him to do him, as Theophilus' son and brother, the favour of taking the men like little children in his arms. Theophilus refused to do John the favour, and sent to him certain persons well versed in verbal disputes —the men we have just mentioned—instructing them to present requirements, which as usual he dictated himself, containing statements admittedly false, but dressed out with all sorts of calumnies in regard to the men's spiritual condition,[2] as he had nothing to bring against their outward lives. Thus they were to be pointed at as impostors at the palace.

Theophilus Implacable

Seeing that Theophilus, so far from coming to a right mind, was all the more bitter against them, the ascetics sent a numerous deputation to him, declaring that they anathematized all false doctrine; and presented a petition to John, detailing the various forms of oppression from which they suffered, and some specific points of complaint. I am ashamed to speak of them in the presence of these young people, for fear of shaking their confidence in my veracity; perhaps, too, even more experienced Christians might not believe me.

John again, both in person and through other bishops, urged them to drop the charges against Theophilus, in view of the mischief which the suit would cause, and wrote to Theophilus: "They are

[1] It was reported to Theophilus that he had done so (Socrates); this was one of the charges at The Oak. Chrysostom made no claim whatever to act as judge.

[2] Charging them with Origenism.

reduced to such extremities, that they are filing a formal indictment against you. I leave it to you to deal with it as you think best; for I cannot persuade them to leave the capital."

At this, Theophilus blazed with anger, and suspended the brother of the monks, Bishop Dioscorus, a man who had grown old in the service of the Church, from ministering in his own church; while he wrote to John: "I think that you are unaware of the order of the Nicene Canons, in which it is laid down that a bishop shall not exercise jurisdiction beyond his boundaries;[1] if so, now that you know it, leave these charges against me alone. If there was any need for me to be put on my trial, it should be before Egyptian judges, not before you, at the distance of a seventy-five days' journey."

CHAPTER VIII

FIRST EXPULSION OF CHRYSOSTOM

The Monks' Appeal to Eudoxia and its Result

John received the letter, but kept it to himself, and discussed measures for peace with the ascetics of both parties. Both were exasperated at what he said to them; the exiles, because they had been tyrannically treated, the others, because they had no power to make peace without Theophilus, as it was at his orders that they had presented the falsely incriminating petitions. This done, John dismissed the matter from his mind, as he considered them to be answered.

Hereupon the monks of the aggrieved party withdrew, and compiled a lengthy petition, formally charging the other monks with libel, and Theophilus

[1] P. 11, n.

—well, to tell the truth, with everything that any one of them knew him to have done. They appealed to their majesties, approaching the queen in the shrine of the holy John, with the petition that the case of the disputant monks might be investigated before the prefects, and that Theophilus, however much against his will, might appear to stand his trial before John. The petition was made, and the answer was, that Theophilus should be summoned by the magistrate to appear, whether willing or unwilling, and take his trial before John; and that Theophilus' monks should substantiate the charges preferred against the aged saints or pay the penalty of false accusation.

Theophilus Summoned to Constantinople

So Captain [1] (retired) Elaphius was sent to Alexandria to bring Theophilus, while the justices carried out the rest of the Empress' answer. The investigation was held, and an indecisive result obtained; but as they were still threatened with the glittering sword of the law, the poor wretches took fright at the possible issue, and got the matter adjourned until Theophilus' arrival, on the ground that he had suborned them, and had dictated the petitions. So the officials put them in prison, until Theophilus should arrive, bail being refused under the circumstances of the case. Some of them lingered in prison until they died, owing to the slow movements of Theophilus; [2] others, subsequently to his arrival, when he

[1] "Princeps" is properly captain of the second line of soldiers in a legion.

[2] In the interval Theophilus held a synod, which condemned Origenism; and wrote to Epiphanius, the aged and highly respected Bishop of Salamis in Cyprus, who with Jerome had taken the lead in the antagonism to Origen's views. Theophilus had called him an "anthropomorphist," because he insisted on the literal interpretation of scripture, including the passages which speak of God in terms borrowed from human nature. Now he declared that he saw the error of his ways, and invited Epiphanius to join him in a crusade against Origenism. Epiphanius called a synod which anathe-

hurried forward the matter by means of bribes, were at the final inquiry sentenced to transportation to Proconnesus for malicious accusation.

Theophilus' Arrival

So Theophilus arrived at Constantinople, like a beetle loaded with the dung of the best that Egypt, or India itself, produces,[1] emitting sweet scent to cover his stinking jealousy; he entered the city at mid-day on the fifth day of the week, cheered by a mob of sailors.[2] Such was the palm of dishonourable glory which he had to bear—the glory of which the apostle said long ago, "Whose glory is in their shame," and added, "who mind earthly things."[3] He took up his quarters in the tents of the unrighteous, and avoided the Church, forgetful of David's verse, "I had rather be cast away in the house of my God, than to dwell in tents of sinners."[4] It was his own conscience that shut him out from the Church.

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matized it as heretical, and sent the resolution to Chrysostom, who in all innocence ignored it. The question did not interest him, and he saw no reason why it should be raised; as his own commentaries show, he had no leanings towards Origen's "mystical" interpretations. Epiphanius proceeded to Constantinople, where Chrysostom treated him with great courtesy, though he broke Church order by ordaining a deacon, but refused his demand to expel the monks, and condemn Origenism, as these matters were awaiting synodical decision. However, he laid the matter before a gathering of bishops in Constantinople, which declined to confirm the resolution. The Empress severely snubbed Epiphanius, and Ammonius compelled him to admit that he had not read any of his (Ammonius') writings; at last he saw that he was simply being used as a catspaw, and departed for Cyprus, saying, "I leave to you the city, the court, and the hypocrisy." Theophilus meanwhile journeyed slowly through Asia Minor, collecting his partisans among the bishops.

[1] Gifts brought to win favours.

[2] From the Egyptian corn-ships, for whose arrival Theophilus delayed his entry.

[3] Phil. iii. 19.

[4] Ps. lxxxiv. 10.

Theophilus' Machinations

In the course of three whole weeks he never held any conversation with John,[1] such as is customary among bishops, and never went near the church, but linked his new hostility with the old, and spent night and day in his efforts to expel Bishop John not only from the Church, but even from life itself. He lavished money in purchasing the support of the superstitious[2] spirits among the authorities against the truth, made the greedy ones his slaves by the abundance of his table, and further, by flattery and promises of promotion, won over his fellow-impostors among the clergy. When he had put all these in bonds—of pleasure, not of rope—like some seducing demon, and bewitched the discerning faculties of their souls, he looked about for some demoniacal person to be his understudy in the play, and succeeded in finding what he wanted.

The Memorials of the Renegade Deacons

There were two deacons, who had been expelled from the Church by Bishop John for criminal offences. He availed himself of their frailty, and persuaded them to present memorials against John, promising to restore them to their office. Their offences were murder and fornication respectively.[3] He fulfilled his promise; for after the banishment of John he restored them to their places, obviously because they had presented the memorials which Theophilus himself dictated. They contained not a word of truth, except the one point, that he advised every one, after communion, to take a little water, or a pastille, for fear that they might involuntarily spit out a portion of the elements[4] with the saliva or phlegm. He first adopted the practice himself, to teach reverent care to those who would learn.

[1] Cf. p. 11.
[2] Warning them of divine punishment due to Origenism.
[3] P. 12, n.
[4] "The symbol" (p. 57). See p. 120, n.

The Conclave at Eugraphia's House

On receiving the memorials, Theophilus held a meeting at the house of Eugraphia; at which were present Severianus, Antiochus, Acacius, and every one else who had a grudge against John for his seemly exhortations. For the blessed bishop, like St. Paul, made a practice in his teaching, "both publicly and from house to house," [1] of urging dignified behaviour; he was especially severe with women like Eugraphia. "At your age," he would say, "when you are really old women, and widows into the bargain, why do you force your bodies to become young again, wearing curls on your foreheads like the women of the street, bringing every other lady into disrepute, and giving people generally a false impression?"

The Hostile Synod Meets

So they held a gathering,[2] and took steps to bring a suit against John. One of them suggested that they should present petitions to the king, and insist upon his appearing before the synod, however unwilling. This was the course adopted; as with the Jews, so with them, money made everything easy.[3]

[1] Acts xx. 20.

[2] Palladius passes without explanation from the private and informal discussion at Eugraphia's house, to the so-called "Synod of The Oak," in which, of course, only bishops took part. He declines to call it a synod. Theophilus summoned the Nitrian monks to it, and required them to express their penitence, and "as is customary with monks, even if they are wronged, they said, 'Pardon.'" Socrates thinks this would not have happened, had not Ammonius and Dioscorus now been dead (p. 147; Theophilus shed tears over the news). Henceforth the question of Origenism, having served its purpose, was dropped.

[3] Photius gives an account of this assemblage. Paul, Bishop of Heracleia (p. 14, n.) presided as Metropolitan; John the deacon, evidently the man mentioned above, brought forward twenty-nine charges, the first of which was, that Chrysostom had deposed him from the diaconate for flogging his own slave (or son). Others were, that he had sold Church property, including marble from the Church of the Resurrection, that he had plotted against Severianus, entered and

Chrysostom's Forebodings

We were seated,[1] a company of forty bishops, in the refectory at the bishop's house, with Bishop John, marvelling that a man who had been put on his trial, and ordered to appear at the capital on disgraceful charges, had arrived with such a numerous following of bishops, and that he had suddenly brought about such a change in the minds of the authorities, and perverted the majority of the clergy. While we could see no answer to the question, John was inspired by the Spirit, and said to us all: "Pray for me, brethren, and, if ye love Christ, let none desert the Church of which he is in charge on my account; for like the writer of the words, 'I am already being offered, and the time of my departure is at hand.'[2] And I shall endure much persecution, and depart from this life, I see. For I know the cunning of Satan; he can no longer bear the annoyance of my invectives against him. The Lord have mercy upon you.[3] Remember me in your prayers."

Words of Consolation

So profound was our distress, that some of us began to cry, others left the gathering with tears, and broken hearts. We kissed his eyes, and his sanctified head, and his facile and blessed lips. But he bade

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left the church without a prayer, ordained four bishops at once, ordained Serapion presbyter, hit a man in the face, eaten immoderately alone, living the life of a Cyclops, occupied the bath by himself, while Serapion kept the door, robed and unrobed in the episcopal throne, and eaten a pastille. Subsequently Isaac the monk (p. 48) brought forward eighteen other charges, such as that he had favoured Origenists, used strange expressions in his sermons, insulted the clergy, ordained slaves as bishops, and imposed fines upon Isaac himself.

[1] It is impossible to doubt that we have here the account of an eye-witness. Palladius was in Constantinople at the time, and was in some way involved in one of the charges.

[2] 2 Tim. iv. 6.

[3] *i. e.* "Good-bye."

us, as we were flying hither and thither, like bees buzzing round a hive, to come back to the gathering, and said: "Be seated, brethren, and do not weep, to give me greater pain. For to me 'to live is Christ, and to die is gain.'[1] It was often said, that I should lose my head for being too outspoken. I think you will remember, if you look into your memories, that I always used to say to you, This present life is a journey, and its joys and sorrows are ever passing away. What is before our eyes is but a fair; we finish our buying and selling, and we move elsewhere. Are we better than the patriarchs, the prophets, the apostles, that this state of life should abide with us for ever?"

Then one of the company sobbed aloud, saying, "Nay, we lament our orphaned condition, the widowhood[2] of the Church, the confounding of ordinances, the ambition of those who do not fear the Lord, and leap upon high offices in the Church, the defenceless state of the poor, the famine of teaching." The Christ-loving bishop tapped the palm of his left hand with the forefinger of his right, a familiar gesture when he was in deep thought, and said to the speaker: "Say no more, brother, only remember what I said; do not desert your Churches. The teaching office did not begin with me, nor did it come to an end in me. Did not Moses die, and was not Joshua found? Did not Samuel end his days, and was not David anointed? Jeremiah departed this life, but was there not Baruch? Elijah was taken up, but did not Elisha take his place as prophet? Paul was beheaded, but did he not leave behind him Timothy, Titus, Apollos, and countless others?"

Eulysius, Bishop of Apameia in Bithynia, was the next to speak. "It is inevitable," he said, "if we keep our Churches, that we shall be forced to communicate with them and to sign (your sentence of condemnation)." Said the holy John, "Communicate with them, lest you rend the Church; but

[1] Phil. i. 21. [2] Cf. p. 13.

do not sign. For my conscience is clear of any thought deserving my deposition."

The Summons from the Council of The Oak

At this moment, messengers from Theophilus were announced. John ordered that they should be admitted; and on their entry, asked to what order they belonged. "We are bishops," they replied. He requested them to be seated, and to state their business. "We only have a letter," they said, "to be read aloud; cause it to be so read." John directed that it should be read, and they ordered Theophilus' young servant [1] to read the communication, which he did. The substance was as follows: "The holy synod assembled at The Oak" (that was the name of the place where they had met—in the suburb of Rufinus,[2] on the other side of the sea), "to John" (they omitted his proper title of bishop; the darkened soul never does see things as they are, but imagines what its evil desires dictate). "We have received certain memorials, containing countless grave charges against you; appear, therefore, bringing with you the priests Serapion and Tigrius; for they are needed." The two bishops who came to John were Dioscorus and Paulus, young men who had recently been consecrated in Libya.

The Answer of Chrysostom's Friends

When the document had been read, John's fellow-bishops replied with a statement drawn up by three bishops, Luppicianus, Demetrius, and Eulysius, and two priests, Germanus and Severus, all of them saintly and honourable men. "Overthrow not the estate of the Church, and rend not the Church, for whose sake God from above entered into flesh. As it appears

[1] Cf. p. 38, n. Possibly this attendant was Theophilus' nephew, Cyril, afterwards Bishop of Alexandria.

[2] "A suburb of Chalcedon, called after the name of Rufinus the consul, where was a palace, and a church built by Rufinus in honour of Peter and Paul the Apostles" (Socrates).

that by your disorderly action you are overthrowing the canons of the 318 bishops at Nicæa, and are trying a case beyond your boundaries, do you cross over to us, that we may first hear what you have to say, in this city where good laws prevail, and do not be like Cain, when he invited Abel to come into the field.[1] For we have memorials against you, under seventy counts, alleging palpably criminous actions. Moreover, we, assembled by the grace of God, not for the overthrow of the Church, but in peace, are more in number than your synod. For you number thirty-six, from one province;[2] while we are forty, from various provinces, and among us are seven metropolitans. It is only reason that the smaller body should be judged according to the canons by the larger and the more honourable. Besides this, we hold your letter, in which you press upon our brother-minister John, that he ought not to accept cases from beyond his boundaries. Wherefore do you, in obedience to the laws of the Church, urge your accusers either to desist from their accusations against you, or from their approaches to John." [3]

Chrysostom's own Answer

John was distressed at this answer, and said to his bishops, "Write what seems good to you; I feel bound to make a statement for myself in answer to the allegations." So he sent the following reply to Theophilus and his party: "I hereby declare that if any man has aught to say against me, up to this moment I do not know what it is; but if any one has spoken against me, and you wish me to appear before you, put out of your assemblage my open enemies, who are filled with malice towards me

[1] The LXX of Gen. iv. 8, reads, "Cain said to Abel his brother, Let us go forth into the field."

[2] This was not strictly the case, as some of them were from Asia.

[3] The text is uncertain. George omits "your" and "against you." "Bid the accusers cease from their accusation, and their attack upon John."

because they think themselves slighted. Further, I raise no question as to the venue of my trial, though the fittest place would be the city. Those to whom I object as judges are Theophilus, whom I call to account for having said both at Alexandria and in Lycia, 'I go to the court [1] to depose John.' I know this to be true, because when he arrived, he did not have any intercourse with me, or communicate with me. If then he behaved as an enemy before the hearing, what would he do after the trial? Similarly, I charge Acacius with saying, 'I am seasoning a pot for him.' As for Severianus and Antiochus, whom the divine sentence will soon overtake, what need to speak of them, when even the secular theatres make songs upon their revolutionary doings? I beg you therefore, if you really desire me to appear, in regard to these four; if they are entered as judges, remove them from the panel; if as accusers, put them into the witness-box, that I may know how to prepare to meet them—whether as opponents or as judges. Then I will appear at all costs, not only before your love, but before any synod in the world. Now, then, I give you notice, that however often you write to me, you will hear no more from me."

The Emperor's Summons to Trial

So the envoys withdrew, and a notary immediately arrived, bearing a letter from the king, enclosing the petition (of Theophilus' synod) that John should come up for judgment whether he would or no, and bade him hasten to the trial. When the notary had received his answer, two of John's priests appeared; one Eugenius, who was given the bishopric of Heracleia [2] in payment for the part he had played in the plot against Bishop John, and Isaac, the monk under rule of silence—not to call him anything else. These said, "The synod sends you this message;

[1] "Comitatus"; "the place where the Comes is, or the Emperor" (Balsamon).

[2] In place of Serapion, who was ejected.

come over to us, and defend yourself against the charges."

Chrysostom Refuses to Appear

To this John answered, through other bishops, "How can you judge me with any show of order, when you have not put forth from among you my enemies, and when you send my own clergy to summon me?"

They seized the bishops, and beat one, and stripped another of his robes, and put round the neck of a third the chains which they had in readiness for the saint, intending so to put him on shipboard, and carry him off to some unknown place; the devil had made them as savage as lions. The holy bishop, aware of their shameful intention, took no steps to meet it; but these worthy gentlemen compiled some paltry dockets, more frail than spider's web,[1] for the sake of form, making representations against the blessed bishop, whose face they had never seen and whose voice they had never heard, and in a single day consummated the villainy which they had long been forging. For the onslaught of the devil none can restrain; it waits not for reflection.

Chrysostom Guilty of Lèse Majesté

So they sent an address to the king setting forth that: "Whereas John is accused of various offences, and in consciousness of his guilt has refused to appear,[2] he is by the laws degraded from his bishopric, and this has been done. The memorials include a charge of treason.[3] Your piety, therefore, will command,

[1] In "a sermon before he went into exile" he calls those sent to arrest him "spiders sent by a spider."

[2] "When, after being four times summoned, he appealed to an œcumenical council, bringing no further charge against him, but that he had been summoned, and refused to obey, they degraded him" (Soz. viii. 17).

[3] *Lèse Majesté.* Just after Epiphanius' departure, Chrysostom "preached a sermon reproving women in general terms; which was generally interpreted as directed against

that whether he will or no, he be expelled from his office, and pay the penalty for his treason, as we have no powers to inquire into this charge."

You thrice miserable wretches, what thoughts are these? What deeds? They should fill you with shame, if you have any fear or reverence for men, much more any for God. The treason consisted in offensive language against the queen, whom, as they alleged, he had called Jezebel.[1] So this was the allegation of these wonderful people, longing to see John killed with the sword; but God brought to light the malice lurking within them, and softened the hearts of the magistrates, as with Daniel at Babylon. For there, the lions turned gentle, and spared Daniel, while the men turned savage, and did not spare the prophet; but God vanquished the unnatural savagery of man, by the unnatural gentleness of the savage beasts.

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the Empress" (Sozomen). Our other sources agree in stating that he had rebuked her for following Eutropius' example in seizing property, especially the vineyard of the widow of one Theognostus. George asserts that he gave orders for her to be excluded from the Church for so doing. Hence her sudden change of attitude towards him. Palladius, no doubt, had his reasons for not saying more on the subject of Eudoxia's actions; it would have been too dangerous; cf. p. 78, n.

[1] Another sermon "before he went into exile" contains an allusion to Jezebel; it is almost certainly spurious, probably the work of his enemies. But Theodore implies that he had used Naboth's vineyard "as a parable" in pleading for the widow. He tells us, with a certain amount of verisimilitude, that the Emperor, on Acacius' application, appointed Aquilinus the Quæstor to investigate the charges against the monks, and was satisfied with their answers; Chrysostom was also summoned to appear in reference to his alleged insults to the Empress, but refused to make any defence.

CHAPTER IX

INTRIGUES AND VIOLENCE AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Chrysostom's Expulsion and Return

THUS was John ejected from the Church;[1] a court official was despatched for the purpose, with a body of soldiers, as if it was an expedition against barbarians. On his expulsion he went first to the country district of Prænetum, in Bithynia.[2] But only a single day had passed, when a catastrophe[3] occurred in the royal palace, which caused such alarm, that a few days afterwards they recalled John, through a notary of the household, and restored him to his own throne.[4] So Theophilus, with the Egyptian

[1] "On the third day after his deprivation"; the civil authorities, with the sanction of the Emperor, instigated by Eudoxia, carrying out the resolution of the so-called "Synod." "He went out unknown to the people, for fear of causing a disturbance; but immediately the king, the synod, and, above all, Theophilus, were bitterly censured. It was pointed out that Theophilus had immediately communicated with the Tall Brethren, whom he had called heretics, and Severian caused strong indignation by a sermon concerning Chrysostom's pride" (Soz. viii. 18). The Emperor was compelled to order his return by the strong feelings aroused.

[2] On the other side of the Bosphorus.

[3] Apparently an earthquake. Eudoxia herself wrote, begging him to return: "I am innocent, I knew nothing of what was being done. I cannot forget that you baptized my children."

[4] He refused to enter the church, on the ground that the synod which deposed him must also reinstate him; but the vast crowds who had welcomed him insisted on his pronouncing the "Peace be with you," and giving an address, which is still preserved; in it he speaks very favourably of the Empress. He maintained that all this was done under compulsion, and that he cannot therefore be accused of the breach of canon law alleged below (p. 76). But no man can be compelled to speak; his natural impetuosity overcame him at the sight of the sympathetic flock. A synod of sixty bishops met in Constantinople, and annulled the proceedings at The Oak, declaring that Chrysostom still held his bishopric (Soz. viii. 19).

bishops, secured his own safety by flight; for the populace wished to drown him.[1]

But two months later, recovering from their wound, they again uplifted themselves against John; and as they could not find a promising opening, they sent to the clever man who managed such things at Alexandria, to this effect: Do you either come here again to take the lead in the campaign against John, or, if you will not do this for fear of the people, suggest to us some scheme, so that we may make a beginning.

Theophilus' New Ground of Accusation

In answer to this, Theophilus did not go himself, remembering how he had escaped, but sent three miserable bishops, Paul, and Poimen, and another, newly consecrated, and at the same time despatched certain canons,[2] which the Arians had framed against the blessed Athanasius, suggesting that by use of these they might manipulate a suit against John for having on his own initiative re-entered his bishopric after deposition. For Theophilus is naturally an impetuous person, headstrong, bold, and extraordinarily fond of quarrelling; whatever it be that presents itself to his vision, he rushes at it in needless haste, without any restraint, giving himself no time for judgment or consideration. So he proceeded with a mad fury which carried him beyond the bounds of order, to secure John's submission, and in sure confidence in the verdict passed upon him, vigorously opposed all who wished to bring a counter-charge;

[1] Feeling ran so high in regard to the condemnation by the "Synod" of Heracleides (p. 126, n), accused of Origenism in his absence, that sanguinary tumults took place in the streets.

[2] By Can. XII. of the Synod of Antioch (A.D. 341), any bishop who after deposition appealed to the civil power was to be *ipso facto* irrevocably deposed. The number of bishops present at Antioch was ninety-seven, of whom forty belonged to the party of Eusebius, a "semi-Arian" (*i. e.* one who denied the eternal Godhead of the Son). It seems probable that these had remained after the others had returned home, and passed this and other canons on their own account.

his one aim, as ever, being to show that his own judgment and decision conquered and prevailed.

The Plotters and the Plot

Knowing his character, his agents fell in with his scheme. They summoned metropolitans and bishops from Syria, Cappadocia, and the whole province of Phrygia, and Pontus, to a conference at Constantinople. These on their arrival communicated with John in accordance with the canons, so as not to repeat their first mistake. The authorities were annoyed to hear of their act of communion; Theodorus, the respected Bishop of Tyana, aware of the conspiracy from the information which had reached his ears, refused to join in the hasty action of Theophilus, and deserted the main body without further concern, bidding a long farewell to the capital as he retired to his own Church. He fortified his own province with the rampart of his piety, and continued to the end in the communion of the faithful of Rome, to whom Paul bears witness in the words, "Your faith is spoken of in all the world." [1] On the other hand, Pharetrius, Bishop of Cæsarea, near Mount Argæus, alarmed beyond measure, like a little child frightened by a bogey, without even leaving his own city, conferred by letters with John's enemies, although he had not even been invited to take any part in the matter; in his ignorance of episcopacy, he knew no better. Leontius, Bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, joined with Ammonius, Bishop of Burnt Laodicea,[2] in burning the church. These two, yielding to the threats of the authorities, and at the same beguiled by the hope of gifts from the king, at the second session made a vile suggestion

[1] Rom. i. 8. So Cyprian, *Ep.* iv., objecting to an appeal made to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, against the decisions of an African synod, says that they "forgot that it was the Romans, whose faith is applauded in the preaching of the Apostle."

[2] Laodicea in Lycaonia, so called from the furnaces in connection with the mines (W. M. Ramsay).

to the party of Acacius and Antiochus: namely, that Theophilus' judgment, which was no judgment, should prevail, and that no opportunity should be given to John even to defend himself, appealing to the canons sent by Theophilus, which the forty bishops in communion with Arius[1] had passed, containing the clause, "If any bishop or priest who has been justly or unjustly deposed of his own initiative re-enters his Church, without sanction of a synod; such an one shall thereafter have no opportunity of defence, but shall be absolutely excluded." This canon was rejected, as being illegal and passed by illegal persons, at Sardica,[2] by the bishops of Rome, Italy, Illyria, Macedonia, and Greece, as you know better than I, my famous friend Theodorus, when Liberius, or rather Julius,[3] in the reign of Constans received into communion Athanasius and Marcellus of Galatia, on whose account the canon was laid down.

The Question of Canon Law

This wonderful pair, Ammonius and Leontius, formed a league with Acacius and Antiochus, and

[1] The famous heretic, who maintained that "there was a time when the Son was not"; against whom Athanasius maintained the Catholic Faith.

[2] A.D. 343; about a hundred and seventy bishops were present. The eastern bishops objected to the presence of Athanasius as having been deposed, but they were outvoted. Pall., *L. H.*, lxiii. 1 has the same note of time in reference to Athanasius—"in the time of Constantius the king"—of the eastern, Constans being emperor of the western empire.

[3] Julius was Bishop of Rome at the time; Liberius succeeded him in 352. At this council it was determined that any bishop who considered himself aggrieved might appeal to Julius, Bishop of Rome, for a re-trial before such neighbouring bishops as he should appoint. The canon applied only to Julius personally, to cover the exigencies of the moment; Athanasius would ordinarily have appealed to the Emperor, but as Constantius, Emperor of the East, was an Arian, Julius was for this turn substituted for him.

Cyrinus of Chalcedon,[1] and Severianus, and came before the king, recommending that ten bishops of John's party, which numbered more than forty, should be summoned, to maintain the authority of the canons; as some asserted that they were the work of orthodox persons, while others maintained that they were of Arian origin. However, Elpidius,[2] old in spirit and in the years which had whitened his head, Bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and Tranquilius, with their supporters, came and urged upon the king that John ought not to be unreasonably ejected. "For," they said, "John had not been previously deposed, but was expelled by the civil official; nor did he re-enter it upon his own initiative, but obeyed the order of your piety, conveyed by a notary; moreover, we can prove that the canons to which they appeal are of heretical origin."

John's opponents continued very improperly to press their views, some shouting at the top of their voices, others, wild with excitement, impudently gesticulating, and twitching their chests in the presence of the king. Then Elpidius, a most profound student of Church law, in a moment of silence said meekly to the king: "Your majesty, let us not trouble your gentleness further, but let this be done; let our brothers Acacius and Antiochus subscribe the canons which they put forward as the work of orthodox persons, and declare themselves to be of the same faith as those who issued them.[3] Then the whole dispute is at an end."

Failure of the Plot

The king noted the simplicity of the solution proposed, and said to Antiochus, with a smile, "Nothing could be better." The king was throughout entirely free from blame; it was others who

[1] See p. 147, n.

[2] Six of Chrysostom's letters are addressed to him. He was deposed, but in 414 restored to his see.

[3] In that case, they admit themselves to be Arian heretics.

altered his excellent decrees. Severianus and his party reeled, and began to swirl against one another like water that has burst its bounds; they were struck dumb at the bishop's thoughtful observation, and at the opinion expressed by the king. Their faces turned livid, but in the king's audience chamber they had to restrain themselves. So they promised, sorely against their will, to subscribe the canons, and departed. But as they were afraid of being worsted, they did not carry out their promise, on the ground that it was given against their will; and began instead to devise means to secure John's expulsion.

In these various manœuvres and counter-manœuvres nine or ten months passed, John foregathering with his forty-two bishops, while the people enjoyed the benefit of his teaching with much gladness. For the unselfish mind always expresses itself with greater grace and power in times of difficulty.[1]

The Emperor takes the Side of the Enemy

Such was the state of things when the Lord's fast recurred, like the spring which puts forth its blossoms year by year. Again Antiochus and his party approached the king, in private, and informed him that John had been deposed, begging him to order his expulsion at the approaching Paschal season,[2] and the king, wearied by their importunity, could not but listen to them, seeing that they were bishops.

[1] Eudoxia once more turned against him at this time. Her statue had been set up in the square before the church, and its inauguration was attended by disorderly and pagan rejoicings, against which Chrysostom protested (January 403). On the feast of the Beheading of John the Baptist, he was alleged to have begun his sermon with the words, "Again doth Herodias rave, again does she ask for the head of John." The Emperor sent him word that he would not communicate at the Christmas festival; but Chrysostom declared himself ready to meet the charge of attacking the Empress, and the question of re-entry was made the issue.

[2] They wished to anticipate the signs of popular good-will likely to be shown by the crowds attending the festival.

For the true priest or bishop knows not falsehood; these titles belong to the higher sphere, since there is nothing more priestly or more episcopal than God, for it is God Who is the bishop [1] and beholder of all things. The true bishop, then, or the true priest, inasmuch as he bears these titles in fellowship with God, ought also to be in fellowship with Him in His actions. The king accordingly sent word to John, "Leave the Church." "I have received this Church," John sent word back, "from God our Saviour, for the care of the salvation of the people, and I cannot desert it; if, then, this is your will—for the city is yours—thrust me out by force, that I may plead your authority in defence of my desertion of my post."

Chrysostom Ejected by the Civil Power

So they sent men from the palace, with a certain show of respect, and ejected him; but in apprehension of a possible visitation of the wrath of God, bade him stay in the bishop's house for the time being, so that if any misfortune should occur which affected them, they could at once appease the Divinity by restoring him to the Church, while if nothing happened, they could proceed further against him, as Pharaoh did against Moses.

The Storm Gathers

Meanwhile, the Great Sabbath drew near, in which the Saviour spoiled Hades by His crucifixion. Again they sent word to John, "Leave the Church"; to which he sent a suitable reply. So the king, in consideration of the sanctity of the day, and the disturbed state of the city, summoned Acacius and Antiochus, and said to them, "What is to be done?

[1] "Episcopus," "overseer" (Acts xx. 28, addressed to the "elders"). Cicero calls Pompey "Episcopus of Campania" (*ad Att.* vii. 11). So 1 Macc. i. 51, LXX. The verb is used by Pall., *L. H.*, xxxv. 10, where he himself playfully says, "I bishop the kitchens, the tables, and the pots." "God is the true bishop of the heart" (Wisd. i. 6).

Take care that you are not acting unadvisedly." Then the worthies, high-spirited to a fault, said to the king, "Your majesty, the deposition of John be on our heads." As a last resource, the bishops on John's side, to the number of the days of the holy fast,[1] approached the king and queen in the shrines of the martyrs, and besought them with tears to spare the Church of Christ, remembering especially the Paschal festival, and those already prepared[2] for the sacrament of the new birth to be received on that day, and to restore to her her prelate.[3] The request was unheeded; Paul of Crateia[4] went so far as to say, with fearless out-spokenness, "Eudoxia, fear God, and pity your own children; do not dishonour the festival of Christ by the shedding of blood."

The Easter Vigil

So the forty bishops returned to their lodgings, and spent the night without sleep, some weeping, others grieving, others again held inactive by a stupor of pacificism which dulled their minds—according as their individual feelings disposed them. However, those of John's priests who had the fear of God in their hearts, gathered the faithful laity in the public baths, called the baths of Constans, and occupied the night vigil[5] in reading aloud the divine oracles, or in baptizing the catechumens, as usual

[1] The name of Lent is "Tessarakoste," "the fortieth (day)"; it is still called so in the Greek Church.

[2] "Initiated into the mysteries" of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. "Those who are initiated will know what is likely to have happened amid such disorder; I must keep silence, lest any uninitiated should read my narrative" (Soz. viii. 21, in relating these proceedings).

[3] Lit. "priest"; cf. p. 35.

[4] In Bithynia.

[5] Jerome (*in Matt.* xxv.) speaks of the apostolic tradition not to dismiss the congregation before midnight; Tertullian warns against marriage with a heathen, who will not allow his wife to be absent all night for the Paschal solemnities. Cf. p. 17, n.

at the Paschal festival. These proceedings were reported by those corrupters of mind and perverters of sense, Antiochus, Severianus, and Acacius, to their champions, with the demand that the people should be prevented from assembling there. The magistrate on duty objected that it was night, and that the crowds of people were large; some regrettable incident might well occur. Acacius and his party urged against this: "Not a soul has stayed in the churches; we are afraid that if the king goes to church and finds no one there, he may recognize the affection of the people for John, and condemn us as slanderers, especially after our telling him that there is absolutely no one who is kindly disposed towards him, but that he is regarded as an outlaw." So the magistrate, under protest, on the ground of what was likely to result, granted them the services of one Lucius, reported to be a Greek, and his commando of armed men, giving him instructions to go and call the people, gently, to the church. This he did, but as they would not obey, he returned to Acacius and his party, and explained the zeal and dense numbers of the people. Hearing this, they seduced him with golden words,[1] and promises of further promotion, urging him to hinder the glory of the Lord; instructing him either to bring the people to church by verbal persuasion, or to excite them, and by drastic action prevent the festival from being celebrated.

The Outrages in the Church

So Lucius at once set out upon his mission, accompanied by the clergy of Acacius' party. This was in the second watch of the night; for in our parts of the world they keep the people at church till the first cock-crow. He took 400 Thracian swordsmen (the same number that Esau had), newly enlisted, and absolutely reckless, and at a moment's notice threw himself, like a savage wolf, with the clergy

[1] Possibly the first two letters of the word for "gifts" have been dropped out of the text, leaving that for "words."

to guide his movements, upon the crowd of people, hacking a way through with flashing swords. He pressed forwards to the blessed water within, to stop those who were being initiated into (the sacrament of) the Saviour's resurrection, pinioned the deacon, and poured away the sacramental elements;[1] he beat the priests, men advanced in years, about the head with bludgeons, until the laver was dyed with blood. Sad it was to see that angelic night, in which even demons fall prostrate in terror, turned into a labyrinth.[2] Here were women, stripped for baptism, running by the side of their husbands, glad so to escape in dishonour, in their terror of murder or dishonour; here was a man, with a wounded hand, making off, crying; another fellow dragging after him a maiden whose clothes he had torn off. All of them were carrying away loot which they had pillaged.

The Devotion of the Faithful

So those priests and deacons who were seized were thrown into the gaol; the better-class lay folk were expelled from the capital. Orders were issued one after the other, containing various threats against those who would not renounce communion with John. Yet in spite of all this, the bishops of whom I have told devoted themselves to their duties in the open air all the more earnestly; and the gathering of those who love Christian teaching, or rather, love God, was not brought to an end. As we read in the book of Exodus, the more they killed them, the more numerous they were.

Further Imprisonments

So when the king went out next day, to take exercise in the plain beside the city, he saw the

[1] "Symbols" (p. 64).

[2] In the labyrinth of Crete, according to Greek folk-lore, lurked the minotaur, a monster to which were given seven Athenian youths and seven maidens every ninth year, until he was slain by Theseus.

waste ground round Pempton[1] clothed in white; and in astonishment at the sight of the newly baptized, thick as blossoms in spring (there were about 3000 of them), he asked the guard what was the great crowd gathered there. Instead of telling him the truth, they said that they were the mis-believers;[2] so as to bring upon them the wrath of the king. Hearing of this incident, those who were responsible for the affair, the champions of envy, sent to the suburb[3] the most pitiless of their followers, to scatter the audience and arrest the teachers. So once more some few of the clergy, and a larger number of the laity, were arrested.

Blessed are the Poor in Spirit

Deac. Most blessed father, how was it that, when they were so many that the newly baptized alone numbered 3000, these few soldiers mastered them, and broke up the assemblage?

Bish. There is no indication here of small numbers, nor proof of want of zeal. It only shows their exceeding piety, and proves their attention to their teachers, who continually urged them to cultivate a peaceful habit of mind.

And Theodorus said—

Deac. Excellently spoken; certainly it was not to be expected that men who had learnt prudence and gentleness from the holy John should maintain his cause by folly and turbulence.

[1] "The Fifth," because five miles from the Forum.
[2] "Heterodoxi."
[3] Lit. "the back"; so p. 29.

CHAPTER X

CHRYSOSTOM'S DEPARTURE, AND ITS SEQUEL

Prisons become Churches

Bish. So you are satisfied with this explanation. Do not, then, I beg, interrupt my words; they are begotten of sad events. As a general rule, it is events that beget more words than anything else.[1] Well, the wives of some eminent men were arrested, as well as the clergy and laity who were taken prisoners. From some of these they snatched their veils,[2] and tore their earrings, with the lobe of the ear, from others; seeing this, a very wealthy lady, the wife of one Eleutherus, threw off her veil of her own accord, and ran into the city, disguised in the dress of a female slave, to shield her modesty. For she was endowed with a beautiful face and comely figure. So the prisons of the magistrates were filled, but they were turned into churches; hymns were sung, and oblations of the mysteries celebrated in the prisons, while in the churches floggings and tortures and terrible oaths were brought to bear, to compel people to anathematize John, who had fought against the malice of the devil even to the death.

Final Appeal to the Emperor

The feast of Pentecost[3] passed, and five days afterwards Acacius, Antiochus, Severianus, and Cyrinus came to the king, and said: "Your majesty, as by God's appointment you are not under our authority,

[1] More than the expression of abstract thoughts.

[2] "Maphoria"; at first the ordinary veils worn by women, then, with some distinguishing features, by professed virgins and deaconesses; later still, confined to these. Cassian says they were worn by monks. See p. 53, n.

[3] The period between Easter and Whitsun. "For two months John did not go forth in public" (Socr. vi. 18).

but have authority over all, you can do whatever you will. Be not more mild than a priest, and more holy than a bishop; we said to you publicly, Upon our heads be the deposition of John. Do not then be unmerciful to all of us, in being merciful to one man." They employed the same language, I might say the same actions, as the Jews, to persuade the king.

"Leave the Church"

So the king despatched Patricius the notary, with the following message to John: "Acacius, Antiochus, Severianus, and Cyrinus have taken your condemnation upon their own heads. Commend, therefore, your affairs to God, and leave the Church." So Bishop John came down from the bishop's house, with the bishops, and after giving them clear and definite instructions, said to all, "Come, and let us with prayer take leave of the angel[1] of the Church." He rejoiced at what had happened, but grieved over the misfortune of the people.

Farewell to the Devout Women

At this moment one of the officials who loved God sent word to John: "A savage and brazen-faced man,

[1] "If the whole air is full of angels, how much more the church? Hear the deacons ever saying in the churches, Call upon the angel of peace" (*Serm. in Ascens.* i.). "The angels stand round the priest" (*de Sac.* vi. 4). Chrysostom's sense of angelic presence abides in the "Liturgy of Constantinople": "Cause that holy angels may enter with our entrance" ("Prayer of the entrance"). In the Book of Daniel (cf. Deut. xxxii. 8, 9, LXX) nations have their guardian angels; Basil calls angels "the rulers of the Church." Eusebius regards Ps. xlviii. 5 as addressed to "the guardian angels of the Church." Matt. xvii. 10, Acts xii. 15 seem to imply guardian angels to individuals; "each of us has a guardian angel by his side" (*Hom. in Heb.* xiv.). The thought of a guardian angel for each Church is, no doubt, founded on Rev. ii., iii., which Origen (*Hom. in Num.* xx. 4) explains as "his angel, or the angel of his Church"; Chrysostom (*Or.* clxix, *in. Syn. Arch.*) says, "To each man an angel is assigned, in each church Christ has set angel guardians."

named Lucius, is waiting with his commando in the public bath, ready to drag you out, and expel you from the city by force, if you refuse to go, or delay; and the people of the city are in a ferment. Do your best to get away unnoticed, to prevent the people from coming into conflict with the military, in trying to help you." Then John with tears kissed some of the bishops (his emotion would not allow him to do so to all), and took his leave of them, saying to the rest, within the vestry,[1] "Stay here for the present, and let me go and have a little rest." But he went into the baptistery, and called Olympias, a lady who spent all her time in the church, and Pentadia, and Procle, the deaconesses,[2] and Silvina, the widow of the blessed Nevridius,[3] who adorned her widowhood by a beautiful life, and said to them, "Come here, my daughters, and listen to me. I see that the things concerning me have an end;[4] I have finished my course[5] and perhaps you will see my face no more.[6] What I want to ask you is this: let no one dissever you from the good-will you have always borne to the Church; and whoever succeeds me, if

[1] "Hierateion"; where the priests robed, prepared the sacred vessels, etc. Palladius, both in this treatise and in *L. H.*, uses the word also for "the body of clergy."

[2] Sozomen says that Olympias was ordained deaconess by Nectarius, though but a young widow, for her extraordinary devotion. The order, as we saw, sprang from that of widows (p. 46); the Council of Chalcedon made forty the minimum age for their ordination. Their duties were to assist in the instruction of female catechumens, and at their baptism; to visit sick women, guard the doors, and to look after the women members of the congregation in Church. Nicarete, "the best of all the good women Sozomen ever knew," refused to accept the dignity of a deaconess, and "to preside over the Church virgins." The order seems to have come to an end about the eleventh century. But see *The Ministry of Women* (S.P.C.K., 1919).

[3] Nephew of Theodosius the Emperor. Silvina and Olympias were naturally friends, as young widows of husbands bearing the same name (p. 86).

[4] Luke xxii. 37.

[5] 2 Tim. iv. 7.

[6] Acts xx. 25.

he be brought forward for ordination not by his own wish, and without place-hunting, with the approval of all, bow your heads to him, as you have done to John. The Church cannot exist without a bishop. And so may you find mercy. Remember me in your prayers."

Chrysostom's Departure from the Church

The ladies burst into tears, and threw themselves at his feet. Then he made a sign to one of the reverend priests, and said, "Take them away, for fear of their raising a disturbance." So they were kept under control for a while, and apparently acquiesced. And so he moved away to the eastern part of the church (there was nothing western [1] about him!); but he had given orders for the mule which he generally rode to be waiting at the west end, where was the porch of the church, in front of the main door, so as to mislead the people, who were waiting for him there. With him went forth the angel, unable to bear the desolation of the Church, brought about by wicked principalities and powers, who had produced a sort of theatrical exhibition. Yes, there was a roar, like that one hears in a theatre; the ungodly hissed and booed, Jews and Greeks yelled at the top of their voices. And there were blows and body wounds, inflicted by the soldiers, as if they were dealing with criminals in a prison; while every faculty of the soul was tortured by the withdrawal of the teacher, and by the blasphemy against God. For in the place appointed for the remission of sins, there took place the shedding of blood.

The Church on Fire

Now after this scene of awful and inexplicable

[1] The east is the symbol of light, the west of darkness and sin. Baptizands faced the west until they had renounced evil, after that the east.

darkness, a flame [1] appeared from the middle of the throne in which John usually sat, like a heart set in the midst of a body, to expound to the other organs the oracles of the Lord; and sought for the interpreter of the Word. Not finding him, it devoured the chamber used for the Church vessels. Then it spread like a tree, and crept through the rafters to the roof; and consuming the belly like a viper, it leapt upon the back of the church building. It seemed as though God was paying the reward of iniquity [2] appointed as its penalty, to admonish and warn those who will not be warned, except by the sight of such heaven-sent calamities; and more, leaving to posterity a memorial of the savage synod.[3]

The Strange Behaviour of the Flames

But what happened to the church was nothing wonderful, in comparison with the destruction of the building, commonly called the Senate, which lies opposite the church, many paces away to the south. The fire seemed to be possessed of reason; it passed over the heads of the people in the street between, like a man crossing a bridge, and first caught, not the part nearest to the church, so that we cannot ascribe the misfortune to the proximity of the two buildings, but the part on the side of the king's palace. This clearly showed that the marvel was heaven-sent; for one could see crowds of people passing without harm upon their ordinary business

[1] "On the same day, some of the Johnnites set the church on fire" (Socrates). The "Johnnites" attributed it to their enemies (Sozomen, who describes it as heaven-sent). Palladius regards it as the result of the angel of the Church going forth with Chrysostom.

[2] Acts i. 18; 2 Pet. ii. 13, 15. The expression is strange; possibly the preposition has been changed, and "laying upon them" should be read for "paying." The grammar of the sentence is very bad.

[3] The church was that of St. Sophia, built by Constantine, A.D. 360. After this conflagration it was restored, but again burnt down, and finally rebuilt at vast expense by Justinian in 532.

between the mountains of fire. In the same way the flames, whirling and surging like the sea tossed by a fierce wind, seemed to advance in obedience to signal; they seized the buildings all round without mercy, but showed consideration for one little outhouse, that in which the bulk of the sacred vessels was stored. Not that they reverenced the gold, or the rest of the precious materials; it was to give no ground to his accusers for the false charge [1] against the good bishop, that he had appropriated part of the valuables.

So the fire, after doing all this mischief, gradually withdrew to the back parts of the city, following the track of the malice of the criminals; to expose the madness of Theophilus, who apparently had been scheming to use the treasures of the Church as a plea for John's ejection. There was no loss of life from the fire, of man or beast, among the great crowd; but the filthiness of the men who were behaving so foully was purged by the violence of the flames, which in three hours of a single day, between twelve and three o'clock,[2] destroyed the work of years.

CHAPTER XI

EXILE AND DEATH OF CHRYSOSTOM

Chrysostom sent to Cucusus

Deac. And where were John and the rest of the bishops, father, while this was going on?

Bish. The rest of the bishops were put in prison, or haled out of the city, or found means of concealment; John, Cyriacus, and Eulysius were carried off in bonds to Bithynia by the soldiers of the prefect,[3]

[1] One of the charges mentioned by Photius.

[2] Sozomen says the fire advanced from late evening until morning.

[3] Optatus, the prefect, tried various accused persons by torture, under which Eutropius, a reader, died. Olympias also was put on her trial.

under threats of punishment for setting fire to the church. Later on, Cyriacus and Eulysius, with other clergy, were brought up for trial, but were acquitted, and set at liberty, while the holy John, outspoken as ever, sent them this last message: "You refused to give me the opportunity of defending myself on the other matters; at least let me have a hearing in regard to what happened to the church, as to whether I am guilty, as you allege, of the incendiarism." His request for a hearing on this point was equally unsuccessful, and he was sent in charge of soldiers to a very lonely village in Armenia, called Cucusus,[1] in the hope of getting him killed by the Isaurians, who were continually raiding the place, by night and by day.

Arsacius succeeds Chrysostom

The successor appointed in the place of John the inspired teacher was Arsacius, brother of the blessed Nectarius; a man with less power of speech than a fish, and of action than a frog.[2] For there are times when action speaks, especially when it is for good. However, Arsacius only held on to life for fourteen months, when he died; for he had broken an oath upon the gospels. He had sworn to his brother Nectarius, that he would never accept consecration as bishop, when Nectarius reproached him for refusing to be Bishop of Tarsus, saying that he was waiting for his own death. What led to his perjury was first of all ambition, for the sake of which he wooed, so to speak, his brother's wife; and after that, shame. His brother's reproof was indeed prophetic.

[1] A village in the Taurus Mountains, on the edge of Cilicia. Chrysostom's friends did their utmost to get him sent to a less remote and dangerous place, but the Empress had chosen Cucusus herself, and this time was implacable. It took him seventy days to reach it: his letters tell of the hardships of the journey.

[2] He was eighty years old. Socrates says that through his extraordinary gentleness he quietly administered the see; Sozomen also speaks highly of him.

Atticus succeeds Arsacius. Coercive Edicts against the Johnnites

A priest named Atticus,[1] who had taken an active part in the schemes against John, was appointed as successor to Arsacius. Observing that none of the eastern bishops, or even of the laity of Constantinople, would communicate with him, because of the lawless and irregular proceedings which had taken place, in his ignorance of the divine scriptures he set to work to coerce those who would not communicate with him by means of rescripts.[2] The edict against the bishops contained the following threat: "If any of the bishops does not communicate with Theophilus and Porphyrius[3] and Atticus, let him be expelled from the Church, and deprived of his personal property." Some of them, crushed by the pressure of circumstances, thereupon communicated, against their will; those who were poorer, and less firm in a sound faith, were induced by promises of gifts to communicate, while those who set no store by birth and possessions and fatherland, and perishable glory, and bodily suffering, preserved the nobility of their souls by flight, mindful of the gospel oracle, "If they persecute you in one city, flee unto another,"[4] and repeating to themselves the words of the Proverb, "Possessions shall not benefit in the day of wrath."[5] Some of them reached Rome, some the mountains, and others escaped from wickedness like that of the Jews in the retreats of anchorites.

The edict against the lay-people contained the clause, "Those in high position are to be deprived of their official dignities, soldiers are to lose their

[1] An Armenian, a monk in his youth; "learned, industrious, an excellent teacher, sympathetic and courteous, in a word, like the apostle, all things to all men" (Socrates).

[2] A play upon words: graphe, "scripture," antigraphe, "rescript."

[3] Bishop of Antioch (p. 133).

[4] Matt. x. 23.

[5] Prov. xi. 4 (one MS.).

girdles, the common people are to be heavily fined, and submit to banishment." In spite of all this, the prayers of the devout were offered in the open air,[1] amid much suffering; because they were friends [2] of the Saviour, Who said, "I am the way and the truth," and again, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

Chrysostom Transferred to Arabissus

Meanwhile, the blessed John resided at Cucusus for a year, feeding great numbers of the poor of Armenia,[3] where a great famine occurred at the time; not with corn, so much as with words. This again roused the malignity of the fratricides, who transferred him to Arabissus,[4] exposing him to hardships of all sorts, in the hope of bringing about his death. Here once more the light of his virtues shone brightly (for a city set upon a hill cannot be hid, nor can a clearly burning lamp be hidden under a wooden bushel-measure); [5] he awoke people from all the surrounding districts who were slumbering in the depths of unbelief, from the sleep of ignorance to the rays of the word.[6]

[1] "In the outskirts of the city" (Sozomen). The meetings were suppressed with cruelty and robbery; Nicarete, among others, left the city.

[2] From John xv. 15, which is spoken in connection with the two following texts (xiv. 6, xvi. 33).

[3] Many friends, including Olympias, supplied him with money, with which he ransomed many prisoners from the Isaurians, and relieved the needy; many went out to him from Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia (Sozomen). He kept up close correspondence with his friends in the city; now telling of an Isaurian attack, now of quiet.

[4] A strong fortress not far from Cucusus. The "privations" were inevitable, as the place was crowded with fugitives; three hundred Isaurians once nearly took it in a night attack.

[5] Matt. v. 14, 15.

[6] By his correspondence he encouraged the missionary projects he had begun as bishop, in Persia, Phœnicia, and among the Goths. They were in charge of Constantius (p. 135), who joined him for a time at Cucusus.

Renewed Malevolence

Then the flames of malignity blazed yet more fiercely in Severianus and Porphyrius and other bishops of Syria, and they set to work to get him again transferred elsewhere; for he was obnoxious to them not only in his days of what men call prosperity, but also, and much more, in his adversities. They were dunces in knowledge of the nature of temptations,[1] and forgot the divine message to the apostle when tribulations befell him, "My grace is sufficient for thee; for my strength is perfected in weakness."[2] So when they saw the Church of Antioch migrating to the Church of Armenia, and the gracious philosophy[3] of John chanted from there back again to the Church of Antioch, they longed to cut short his life. The accounts they heard tortured them like blows of a whip—such is the power of malice, which hates the good—until their clerical followers saw what was going on, and said in astonishment, Here is a formidable dead man, who frightens living men, and men in authority too, as bogies frighten children. The wonder of it! Men supported by the powers of the world and by the wealth of the Church, men with authority and control of affairs in their hands, turning pale and writhing

[1] "Trials" perhaps better expresses this word, found in plural in the New Testament only in Acts xx. 19, 1 Pet. i. 6; in singular of Our Lord's Temptation, in the Lord's Prayer, the Garden of Gethsemane, etc.

[2] 2 Cor. xii. 9.

[3] A term frequent in the Fathers for "Christian belief and practice." It is "the knowledge (*gnosis*) of things divine and human" (*Hom. in. Col.* ix.); "tribulation is the mother of philosophy" (*in Ps.* ix.). "To be gentle of speech is the road to philosophy" (*in. John* xxvi.). One of Chrysostom's shorter treatises compares the life of a king with that of a monk living "according to Christian philosophy." On the other hand, "Are there no heathen who live in philosophy?" (*in John* xxviii.). "Gracious," as in Prov. xi. 16, LXX, of a wife; or "thankful," as Col. iii. 15. Pall., *L. H.*, xlvii. 15, has this identical expression.

in fear of a priest, alone, disfranchised, infirm, exiled ![1]

The Terrible Journey to Pityus

At last they could hide the serpent in their tent no longer; so they sent to the capital, and again produced a rescript, more severe than the last, prescribing a narrow limit of time, within which, under penalty of a fine, John was to be transferred to Pityus, a desolate spot in Tzane, situated on the shore of the Black Sea.[2] The soldiers of the prætorian prefect who formed his escort accordingly hurried him over the ground at forced speed. They said that such were their instructions; if he died by the roadside, the higher the promotion they would earn. One of them, who thought less of service in the present world, showed him by stealth a certain amount of kindness; the other was so savage and ill-tempered, that he took as insults the courteous requests made to him by persons who fell in with them, that he would spare the saint. The only thing he cared about was, that John should die a miserable death. For instance, he started out regardless of a heavy shower of rain which was falling, so that the water ran in streams down his neck and chest. Another time, an unusually hot sun gave him great delight, as he knew that the head of the blessed bishop, which was like Elisha's, ached under it. When they reached a city or village where the refreshment of a bath was available, the wretch would not allow a moment's delay. This most distressing journey took three months; yet the saint among all these annoyances was always the same shining star, his poor body like an apple reddening in the sun at the tip of a branch.

[1] "Like David, a wanderer, an exile, disfranchised, homeless, I am exiled to a barbarian land" (*Ad eos qui*, ii.).

[2] At its far eastern end.

Chrysostom's Last Hours and Death

They approached Comana,[1] but passed through the town as men cross a river by a bridge, and lodged outside the wall in the shrine of a martyr, five or six miles from the town. The name of the martyr of the place was Basiliscus, who was Bishop of Comana, martyred under Maximian at Nicomedia,[2] at the same time as Lucianus, priest of the Church of Antioch in Bithynia. That night the martyr[3] stood by him and said, "Be of good cheer, brother; to-morrow we shall be together." It is said that he had first called to the priest who shared his abode, "Get ready the place for our brother John; he is coming." John took this as a sure warning, and next day begged them to stay where they were till eleven o'clock. They refused, and pushed on; but when they had covered about thirty furlongs, he had such a sharp attack of illness, that they had to return to the shrine from which they had started. On his arrival, he asked for white clothes[4]—clothes befitting his life—and taking off those he was wearing, he put these on, deliberately[5] changing everything down to his shoes. All but these he distributed

[1] Tokat.

[2] A.D. 303. Diocletian, Maximian's fellow-emperor in the East, originated the persecution.

[3] "And the martyr of the place—Collythus was his name—stood over her, and said, To-day you are going to travel to the Master, and see all the saints. Come, then, and breakfast with us in the chapel. . . . And she died that very night . . . having decked herself for the funeral" (Pall., *L. H.*, lx.). Theodore gives a different version of this vision, which he says was granted to him before reaching Cucusus.

[4] "We clothe the dead in new garments, to signify their putting on the new clothing of incorruption" (*Hom.* cxvi.). So Constantine arrayed himself in royal and shining garments for death (Eusebius). Pall., *L. H.*, v., tells how Alexandra "in the tenth year fell asleep, having arrayed herself (for death)." Theodore says they were "the garments of the holy liturgy."

[5] Bigot translates "jejunus," "without breaking his fast." I understand the word to be used as in 1 Thess. v. 8, 2 Tim. iv. 5, etc.

among those present. Then he partook of the symbols of the Lord's appointment,[1] and offered his last prayer, in the presence of those who stood by, using his customary formula, "Glory to God for all things;" [2] and signing himself [3] at the last Amen, he raised his feet, which were so beautiful as they sped for the salvation of those who chose repentance, and the reproof of those who persistently cultivate the fields of sin. If reproof did not benefit the wicked, it was not from the carelessness of him who had spoken out so fearlessly,[4] but from the recklessness of those who would not accept them.[5]

His Burial

Thus was he gathered to his fathers, shaking off

[1] "Symbola Despotica." In the Coptic Liturgy the fraction is called "Isbodicon." The Eucharistic elements were often carried on a journey (Ambrose, *de Ob. Sat.* iii. 19).

[2] "He closes the book with thanksgiving, to show us that this must be the beginning and end of all our words and deeds; even as in our prayer, Our Father is the language of men who give thanks for the gifts they have received" (*in Ps.* cl.). "Let us render thanks when in poverty, sickness, disgrace; not in word or in tongue, but in thought and act. Say nothing prior to this word, I give thee thanks, O Lord" (*in Eph.* xix. 2). "What shall I say? Blessed be God. This I said when I departed, and I have not ceased to say it. You remember that I quoted Job's words, Let the name of the Lord be blessed for ever" (from "the sermon after returning from exile"). The last rubric of the "Liturgy of St. Chrysostom," still used in the Greek Church, is "The priest having adored, and given thanks to God for all things, so departs."

[3] "At every journey . . . at the putting on of our clothes and shoes . . . at going to bed, at sitting down . . . we wear our foreheads with the sign (of the Cross)" (Tert., *de Cor.*, iii.).

[4] "A man who in his zeal for temperance yielded to anger more than to respect, and for the sake of temperance all through his life allowed his tongue too much out-spokenness. I marvel how a man who practised such zeal for temperance, taught men in his addresses to despise temperance" (Socrates).

[5] Socrates says this was on November 24; George says September 24, which the description of the weather makes more likely.

the dust from his feet, and passing over to Christ, as it is written, "Thou shalt come to thy grave, as ripe corn gathered in its season; but the souls of the transgressors shall die before their time." [1] Such a concourse of virgins and ascetics and men renowned for their devout lives came together from Syria, and Cilicia, and Pontus, and Armenia, that many supposed that they had been summoned by signal. The rites of internment and the funeral gathering [2] took place; and so his poor body, like a victorious athlete's, was buried in the same shrine as Basiliscus.

CHAPTER XII

A DEFENCE OF CHRYSOSTOM'S ABSTEMIOUS HABITS

THEODORUS, amazed at what he had heard, here asked a question, quoting scripture words—

The "Cyclopean Meals"

Deac. As it is written, "Neglect not the recital of elders, for they also have learnt from their fathers," [3]

[1] Job v. 26.

[2] "The clergy honoured Constantine with the mystical liturgy" at his funeral (Eusebius). The third Council of Carthage shows this to be the usual custom, as a token of the communion between the living and the dead. Ambrose speaks of a body removed from the church where the Eucharist was offered to that in which it was to be buried. This concourse cannot have taken place till long after the actual interment, owing to the distance, though the Vit. Anon. says it took place immediately through Divine inspiration. The word I have translated "gathering" is used for a Church Festival, such as Easter. The relatives of a Christian were to meet for psalms, hymns, and prayers on the third, ninth, and fortieth days after death (*Apostolical Constitutions*, viii. 42). "It happened that the services for the fortieth day of the one and the third day of the other were being celebrated by the brethren" (Pall., *L. H.*, xxi. 15).

[3] Ecclus. viii. 9.

I will trouble you to tell us what was the reason for his custom of eating alone, and whether it is true that he used to eat alone, as they say he did.[1]

Bish. I admit that he used to eat alone; but I am sorry to find such a very careful person as you, Theodorus, asking the questions that greedy children put. A grown man like you ought to inquire about the virtues which belong to men; what was his disposition in regard to courage, wealth, self-control, gentleness and righteousness, almsgiving, practical wisdom, manliness, memory or forgetfulness. For meat does not commend us to God, neither if we eat nor if we do not eat;[2] but knowledge working with activity.

Personal Reasons

Yes, he did eat alone, and I know that in part at least it was for the following reasons:[3] first of all, he drank no wine, because it sent the blood to his head, except that in the heat of summer he took rose-water. Secondly, owing to some ailment, his stomach was disordered, so that often he found the food prepared for him distasteful, and asked for something not on the table. Next, at times he forgot his meals, and put them off until evening; either because he was occupied in ecclesiastical concerns, or because he was absorbed in spiritual meditation. For he was ever striving to grapple with every difficulty in holy scripture, and such researches require a light diet, or no diet at all. Again, *bons vivants*, if they have a friend[4] to sit at table with them, or to swill with them, or to cackle with them in unseemly mirth, with the cup of warm wine held in the tips

[1] P. 66, n.

[2] 1 Cor. viii. 8.

[3] "Why he chose to eat alone, no one has been able to state clearly; those who wish to defend him say that it was on account of infirmity" (Socrates).

[4] The text reads "no friend"; and "sweat" (as at the baths) for "swill."

of his fingers, generally turn the good fellowship of the table into malicious gossip.

Delicate Living an Abuse of Stewardship

But in my opinion, the whole secret, and the truer explanation, was this: he was careful to excess in dealing with men of pleasure, counting the expenditure of money on such people as sacrilege.[1] At the same time, it was a way of minimizing opportunities for theft on the part of his stewards, preventing them from multiplying by ten the costs of the food, and securing for themselves what the poor needed. Besides this, with the whole population[2] of the city in his mind, he considered that as the steward of Christ he ought to regard every one, of whatever rank, as worthy of the honour of dining with him, or else to grant the privilege to none. And he dwelt upon the bad behaviour which occurred at table, and the many expenses which fell upon the poor, until he detested the whole business, and would put out of his mind the malicious comments you mention, repeating to himself the words of the Acts, "Men and brethren, it is not meet that we should serve tables; but let us appoint devout men over the matter, and let us give ourselves to the word and to prayer."[3]

The Snare of the Table

When a racehorse is too old to run a race, he is relegated to the mill, and tramps round and round in an endless circle. In the same way, a teacher, if he lacks the spirit to speak the words of virtue, sets himself to catch men with the net of the table. And well for him, if it be among the hungry and the needy, from whom he may win the blessing promised by the Lord, "I was hungred, and ye gave me meat."[4]

[1] Acts xix. 37; Rom. ii. 22.
[2] Or, perhaps, "moral tone," "character."
[3] Acts vi. 2, very freely quoted, with no MS. support.
[4] Matt. xxv. 35.

Alas, it is often only among the rich that he lays his snare, to earn a good name, or reputation which fades away, or to secure return-invitations of the same kind, or at least to avoid having a bad name. Such a man forgets the curse pronounced by the Lord, "Woe unto you, when all men speak well of you."[1] He did not say, "All the poor," but, "All men." "For even so did their fathers unto the false prophets." Let us not, then, Theodorus, seek for the reputation of a false prophet, as the vain-glorious do. "For John came neither eating nor drinking, in the way of righteousness, and they say, He hath a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking, and they say, Behold a gluttonous man, and a wine-bibber, the friend of publicans and sinners."[2]

The Need of Discretion in Hospitality

Deac. It was not, O excellent father, to blame, or to run down such austerity, that I put my inquiry to your accuracy; for I knew the mind of the man from common report, and from those writings of his, homilies and letters,[3] which have come into our hands. I wished to learn his aim, and so to emulate his actions. Who could be so absolutely stupid, as to be unaware that one loses more than one gains from the table, unless there be need to entertain saints in their necessity?

Bish. Nor did I say what I did, Theodorus, most careful seeker after truth, to belittle the virtue of

[1] Luke vi. 26.

[2] Matt. xi. 18, joined with xxi. 32. Pall., *L. H.* (Prol., p. 13), similarly combines the two verses, with no MS. authority. Cf. p. xx.

[3] Nearly all the 246 letters we possess date from his second exile, and are short answers to inquiries, requests for prayer, or devotional considerations of Providence and the use of sufferings; seventeen are addressed to Olympias. The sentence suggests the passage of a certain space of time for their collection. They could not have reached Rome at the supposed date of the Dialogue.

our fathers, least of all their virtue of hospitality. It is one of the many virtues which make for piety, practised by the lord [1] patriarchs. One caught in the snare of his table the Saviour God,[2] another entertained the angels; one was rewarded by a son in his old age, another by deliverance, with his daughters, from Sodom. The apostle himself speaks of them, urging us to follow their example. "Be not forgetful," he says, "of hospitality; for by it some have entertained angels unawares." [3] But an host must have the practical wisdom of the serpent, as well as the harmlessness of the dove; he must give heed to both the oracles, "Give to every man that asketh of thee,"[4] and also "Admit not every man into thine house," [5] or else he will entertain a wolf instead of a sheep, or a bear instead of an ox, and barter away his gain for loss.[6] And first he ought to investigate the place in which a man has been set—whether it be desolate or populous; and then his own fitness for the position of host—whether he can bear with the manners of other people. Then he must use discrimination in regard to the man who claims his services—whether he be rich or poor, well or ill, in need of food, or of clothes; for it is with these things that operative charity deals.

The Danger to a Priest of Excess in Hospitality

The blessed Abraham did not entertain governors, or generals, or the great men of the world around him, vaunting horses with glittering bits and bridles, or trousers [7] set with metal bells, eructating their conceited tinkling far abroad. He lived in a desolate

[1] As "lord bishops" on p. 10.

[2] Gen. xviii. 8, 22. "The angel of great counsel" (Isa. ix. 6), God, and yet an angel, hence identified by Christian writers with the Second Person of the Holy Trinity (cf. Novatian *de Trin.*, xviii., xix.).

[3] Heb. xiii. 2.

[4] Luke vi. 30.

[5] Ecclus. xi. 29.

[6] Cf. p. 121.

[7] "Sarabara," "Persian trousers"; Dan. iii. 21.

district, and entertained those who visited it; they came to the patriarch across the desert, either attracted by his virtue or under the stress of penury and poverty. Poverty is a mean between excess and deficiency; the excess of wealth, and the deficiency of penury.[1] In the same way, Lot lived in a city which was worse than a desert, and entertained the strangers who visited it, because of the bad manners of its inhabitants. But a priest living in a very well-ordered city, like Constantinople, where everybody entertains,[2] may easily come to neglect the ministry of the word, even to excess, and be always busy with food-bills. Such a man unconsciously comes to regard himself as an innkeeper, rather than as a teacher, till pure knowledge vanishes in wishy-washy talk; and he earns the reproach of the prophet, "Thine inn-keepers mingle the wine with water."[3] For teaching is as much superior to hospitality, as wine is to water if one is run down. The one benefits a man's contemporaries, the other posterity; the one does good to those present at the time, the other to those who are not present as well; those present, by word of mouth, those not present, by writing. So it was with the Saviour, in the days of His flesh. He fed five thousand men with the loaves, not in a city, but in a wilderness; but He taught those who were present by word of mouth, while He saved the world through the written gospels. This is true especially of the words of inspired men.

Bodily and Spiritual Food

And do not be impressed, Theodorus, when a man satisfies the hungry with food, but when he delivers a soul from some form of ignorance. For plenty of

[1] This sentence seems to be a gloss. But our author, like many of the fathers, is fond of "the doctrine of the mean" (Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, ii. 6, etc.); cf. p. 111.

[2] The word used for the "guest-master" of the Church (p. 50).

[3] Isa. i. 22.

people can be found to feed the belly, either gratis, or for money, with bread or vegetables, in case of need; while it is rare to find one who provides the nourishment of the word, and when he is found, he wins acceptance for his message with difficulty, if at all. For the evil spirits always do their best to prevent the salvation of souls. It was this famine of the word of teaching, that the Lord God threatened to bring upon the people by way of punishment, when He said to the prophet, "I will bring upon them a famine, not a famine of bread and water, but a famine of hearing the word of the Lord." [1] Moreover, in the case of a famine of material food, it is always possible to leave the city or the country where the shortage exists, and find safety in another, as the holy patriarchs did, when they went down to Egypt from Palestine; while in regard to famine of mental food, which befalls the Churches only for want of teachers, the prophet said again, "They will run from the east to the west, seeking the word of God, and shall not find it." [2]

Old Testament Warnings against High Living

Why, what good thing is there, that does not spring from teaching? And what trouble, that is not to be traced to errors of eating and drinking? I mean ailments, quarrels, disorders in the sub-gastric regions, and the sequelæ of these. When was it that Eve was expelled from Paradise? Was it not when she ate of the tree at the serpent's suggestion, instead of being satisfied with her appointed food? When did Cain commit the foul crime of fratricide? Was it not when he kept the best for his own greedy self, and ate the first-fruits before offering them to God? When did the children of Job meet with the disaster which at a moment's notice made their table a grave? Was it not when they were eating and drinking?

[1] Amos viii. 11. [2] Amos viii. 12.

When did Esau lose the blessing? Was it not when he yielded to the lure of the kitchen, a slave to his belly? When did Saul lose his kingdom? Was it not when he ate the best of the sheep, contrary to the law? And when did the people of Israel provoke God? Was it not when they lusted after the table of Egypt, and required of the teacher flesh and cauldrons? Why were Hophni and Phinehas, the sons of Eli, slain in one hour, in the war? Was it not because they used to draw the meat which belonged to the sacrifice out of the cauldrons with their flesh-hooks? And why did Jacob, the blamed,[1] kick? Was it not when he was "filled with bread, and anointed, and waxen fat, and enlarged"?[2] When did the people of Sodom run unnatural riot? Was it not when they had ruined their powers of sound judgment by continual drinking? So they are scornfully referred to by the prophet Ezechiel,[3] in the words, "In abundance of wine and fulness of bread they lusted, themselves"[4] (that is, the city) "and her daughters" (that is, the villages, which always follow the example of the city). When was it that the principle of moderation passed away from the people of old? Was it not when they, too, had grown old upon their beds, as the prophet complains, "They that eat the lambs out of the flock, and sucking calves out of the stalls, that drink strained wine, and anoint themselves with the chief ointments, and they were not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."[5] Upon whom did Isaiah pronounce the woe? Was it not upon those who rise up early to drink? Here are his words: "Woe unto them that rise up early, and follow strong drink; who tarry late into the night; for wine shall inflame them; for with the harp and the lute they drink wine, but they regard not the work of the Lord."[6] When were the priests of Bel put to shame by Daniel? Was it not when the

[1] Like "Jacob the wrestler," p. 106. [2] Deut. xxxii. 15.
[3] Ezek. xvi. 49. [4] In LXX "she."
[5] Amos vi. 4–6. [6] Isa. v. 11, 12.

dust ensnared them, and proved their guilt by means of food and drink?[1]

No need for me to talk of those who have chosen to go by the broad way, and abuse the narrow; the words of the Saviour are to my mind sufficient condemnation of the roast-hunters, in the passage in which he shows the unnamed rich man, who fared sumptuously every day in this life present, longing for the poor man Lazarus to bring him crumbs and drops of water, and not getting them. Let us look, too, at the company of the saints of old, and see what kind of teaching they employed; whether that of a devout life and words of uprightness, or that of drinking parties and high living. Enoch was the first to be translated; was it by faith, or by joining in drinking parties? Then Noah preserved the human race on the face of the earth, by faith, in the ark of wood, when the world around was purified; was this through a course of drinking parties and unclean works, or by fasting and prayers? And when after this tremendous flood he found a little relief in drinking,[2] do not the scriptures proclaim his disgrace, and not his honour? When the blessed Abraham overcame the five kings at Sodom, and rescued Lot, was it by faith and righteousness, or by eating and drinking?

A Single Instance no Basis for a Universal Rule

Then Theodorus said—

Deac. If you bring Abraham into the discussion, let me call your attention to this point; some one will tell you, that he won the war by faith, but he ensnared God, as you yourself explained just now, by means of the table.

Bish. What an idea! As Abraham ensnared God by means of the table, had we not all better abandon faith and the rest of the virtues, and cultivate

[1] Bel and the Dragon, v. 14, etc. Their footsteps were seen in the ashes sprinkled by Daniel.

[2] A slight alteration of the text gives this meaning.

drinking parties? Then we shall be no better than inn-keepers and caterers, who line the streets with buildings for the purpose, for filthy lucre's sake. And then the virgins, who strive to be holy in body and spirit, for the glory of God, had better bear children, because Mary bore Christ; if they do so, they will be no better than prostitutes. If our teachers must furnish the pleasures of the table because Abraham did so, then our virgins should bear children because Mary did so.

No, no, my honoured friend; we must not bring ridicule upon things which have been done, or are being done, with the justification of special circumstances; for each man's conscience tells him his duty, if he will have it so.

Further Old Testament Illustrations

Again, did Jacob the wrestler carry off the goods of Laban by austerity, or by taking the chair at drinking parties? "I was consumed by the heat," he said, "and by the frost at night, and sleep departed from me." [1] And he asked in his prayer for no more than bread and clothes: "If thou wilt give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, of all that thou shalt give me I will give the tenth part unto thee." [2] He did not say, "I will spend it on tables." What sort of table did Moses, the spokesman and faithful minister of God, prepare, when he gathered the people to the assembly upon the mountain? What sort of drinking cups did he have? He melted the rock with his rod, because of the unbelief of the people; he led six hundred thousand men out of Egypt; he carried the tables of the law to guide the people in the right way; was it transparent bowls, and pork haggis, and birds from Phasis,[3] and fish from the sea, and Tyrian wine well refined, and snow-white loaves, that he set before those under instruction, or was it words?

[1] Gen. xxxi. 40. [2] Gen. xxviii. 20. [3] In Pontus; pheasants.

Deac. But some one will meet your argument by saying, Give me too manna, and the water that Moses produced, and I ask for no more.

Bish. Who is so dull of wit as to prefer material manna, and water from the stream, to spiritual teaching? Let us pass on. Whom did Samuel, the teacher of the people, after his twenty-five years of retirement at Armathem,[1] ever turn away from idols by means of the table, and not by words? And the king who was at the same time prophet and psalmist; he who said, "I have eaten ashes as bread, and mingled my drink with weeping"; [2] when did he set a luxurious table? Elijah the Tishbite, who brought about a fast all the world over, and made the greedy to go short of food against their will for three years and six months—by what sort of table did he deliver them from their sin? What cooks had he? Did he not receive his daily bread through ravens?

Daniel the wise, the seer of the future—by what sort of table did he instruct the Assyrians? Was it not by prayer and fasting that he destroyed the dragon, and overthrew Bel, and stopped the mouths of the lions, and moved the king to deny his ancestral gods by the confession of the God who essentially is? [3] What tables, and what sort of good cheer, did the rest of the company of prophets, or of apostles, employ? Were they not teachers? Was not the whole world entrusted to them? Are we not their successors? Does not the word wish us to be imitators of them and observant of their ways, as Paul teaches, when he says, "And considering the issue of their manner of life, imitate their faith"? [4]

The Teaching of John the Baptist

What sort of honey-cakes had John the Baptist, the herald of repentance, in the wilderness; he who was so far from providing meals for those who came to him, that the bitterness of his reproofs actually

[1] Ramah, 1 Sam. vii. 17.
[2] Ps. cii. 9.
[3] The phrase recalls Ex. iii. 14.
[4] Heb. xiii. 7.

offended his visitors' taste? His fierce looks, and even his appearance, shook their defiled consciences like an earthquake; much more did his words cut away the abscesses of their souls like knives. "Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance," [1] and do not rely upon baptism by itself, or upon your descent from Abraham.

The Teaching of the Apostle Paul

What of the teacher of the Gentiles, who abolished [2] circumcision, to establish the circumcision of faith, the chosen vessel, Paul? Do we find him busying himself with a table? He was a debtor; [3] but this was the last item of his debt. Does he owe it to the unbelieving Gentiles, first of all, to have table relations with them?

Again, what does he write to Timothy, Bishop of Ephesus? "Take heed unto"—the splendour of thy table? Or "Unto the reading, the exhortation, the doctrine"? [4] These were just the duties in which the blessed John was diligent and strenuous. "Be instant out of season, in season," he continues. "Reprove, rebuke, exhort." [5] No one raises the objection that two of these methods of address are bitter, and one pleasant; or suggests that he brings in the third with a touch of leniency. The exceedingly bitter "Reprove, rebuke," are coupled with "Exhort" (not "flatter"). [6] Exhortation, given scientifically, is more bitter to lovers of pleasure and degenerates, than reproofs, though they may find these the more vexatious. For under the influence

[1] Luke iii. 7. [2] Matt. v. 17; Gal. ii. 18.
[3] Rom. i. 14. [4] 1 Tim. iv. 13. [5] 2 Tim. iv. 2.
[6] The grammar of the sentence is so strange that it is almost untranslatable. "Flatter" could not be joined with "reprove, rebuke," because flattery never is bitter, while exhortation can be more bitter, as he goes on to show, than either; hence the apostle does not hesitate to couple the apparently pleasant "exhortation" with the bitter "reprove, rebuke."

of some passion, the soul may perhaps set itself in opposition to reproof, and remain indifferent to what is said; but by exhortation, gently and gradually administered in kindly and truthful language, it is consciously devoured, so to speak, in a slow fire, and sawn in pieces. Now of what does he remind Timothy? Of drinking parties and festivities, or of the revered stories[1] of his tribulations? "Thou hast fully known," he says, "my manner of life,"[2] how in my persecutions I set myself with purpose of heart to do all to the glory of God. Does he anywhere mention a table, when reproving error?

Again, let us see what he writes to Titus, Bishop of Crete. Does he discuss meat and drink, or reproofs and teaching? This is what he says: "For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou mightest set in order the things that are wanting, and persuade them not to teach a different doctrine, nor to give heed to tales and endless genealogies";[3] and he adds the kind of reproof needed: "The Cretans are always liars, evil beasts, idle gluttons."[4] We may ask the belly-olaters, and table-giants, and women-preying hawks,[5] who find fault with John's asceticism, to look through the Old and the New Testaments, and tell us when they find drinking commended, except perhaps in dealing with aliens, and that only as a pledge of peace, since barbarians, like wild beasts, are softened by table law?

The Mischief wrought by Excess

And when did drinking parties lead to anything but sin? When I say "sin," I ought perhaps rather to say, "more grievous idolatry, and fratricide"; as it is written, "The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play."[6] The play was the issue of

[1] "Things which appear shameful (the Cross) are the revered stories of our good things" (*Hom. in John* lxxv. 3). Cf. Pall., *L. H.*, lvi. 2.

[2] 2 Tim. iii. 10. [3] Tit. i. 5, with 1 Tim. i. 3, 4. [4] Tit. i. 12.

[5] This word is only found here, and in Pall., *L. H.*, lxv. 2.

[6] Ex. xxxii. 6.

drunkenness. "Come, let us make gods, who shall go before us." [1] They were so much shaken by wine, that they looked for gods who could be moved, and departed from the God Who is unshaken, and fills all things without walking a step. And what says the prophet? "The priest's lips should meditate upon drinking parties, for they shall seek from him dinners and lunches"? Or that, "The priest's lips shall guard law, and they shall seek the word from his mouth"? "For he is a messenger of the Lord," [2] and not a cook. Once more, when was it that the tower was built in Chalane? [3] Before wine, or after wine? Was it not with wine, when Nôah had planted the vine-stock, and was the first to gather the fruit of reproach? This shows that it was not the result of drinking, or of planting, but of excess.

When was Joseph sold by his brethren? Was it when they were busy tending the sheep, or when they were killing and eating the best of the flock in idleness, and devising malicious schemes against him over their cups? When did they deliver the head of John the Baptist on a charger to the young harlot? In an assemblage of the wise, or at a drinking party of the lawless? Was it in drinking and eating that the blessed Paul continued his discourse until midnight, or in fasting and teaching, and leading to faith those who knew not God?

As for the Chief of shepherds, the Chief of teachers, the Chief of wise men, Jesus the Christ, the Corrector of human error, where do we find Him eating in a city, except at the Passover?—and this was the fulfilling of mysteries.[4] And what do we find Him discussing with His disciples, when they were anxious? Food, or reading? "Labour," He says, "not for the meat which perisheth, but for that which endureth." [5]

[1] Ex. xxxii. 1. [2] Mal. ii. 7.

[3] In Gen. x. 10, Calneh is one of the cities of Nimrod, in the plain of Shinar (Gen. xi. 2).

[4] Contained in the words, "How shall this man give us his flesh to eat?"

[5] John vi. 27.

Chrysostom's Action Justified

So the good John may well say, with the Lord, My drinking-party is the teaching and distribution of the word, for which I was chosen, for the salvation of the people. For meat does not commend us to God, neither if we eat it, nor if we do not eat it.[1] It is with the Gentiles that the custom prevails, of winning with tables those whom they seek to ensnare; as they cannot persuade them with words, they say, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." The apostle launches upon them an unusually severe correction:[2] "Be not deceived; evil communications corrupt good manners." By "evil communications" he means the whirl of talking which goes on over such things.

CHAPTER XIII

A DEFENCE AGAINST THE CHARGE OF TYRANNICAL DEPOSITIONS

No Exception made for Bishops

Deac. You have delivered yourself with sincerity and learning; your contention is sound. "Woe unto him that calleth sweet bitter, and bitter sweet. Woe unto him that setteth darkness as light, and light as darkness."[3] Still, some one will say, We do not assert, any more than you do, that John was given to such tables as these. It is true that extravagant ambition is at the bottom of the love of pleasure;[4] excessive parsimony is equally a proof of slovenliness

[1] 1 Cor. viii. 8. [2] 1 Cor. xv. 32. [3] Isa. v. 20.

[4] If the text is correct, it means that a man gives dinner-parties not for the pleasure of eating, but because he wishes to belong to the "smart set," and push himself forward by ostentation of his wealth. Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.*, iv. 3) remarks upon the difficulty of explaining "ambition"—"a desire for honour carried to excess."

and pettiness of mind. He might have invited bishops only, especially the more devout bishops; if not bishops, at least his own clergy, after the example of the Lord when He ate with the twelve apostles.

Bish. The objection you raise, most truth-loving of men, would be most valid, if only the clergy would have been content to have their meals with John, and get their food an hour, or a day, late;[1] but they expected lavish hospitality, and great style, punctually to the minute. It would have been absurd to waste the food of the sick or the poor on feasting the healthy. Besides, what an idea it is, for the pupils to lay down the law for the teacher, or the patients for the doctor, or the passengers for the pilot.[2] It is always the doctor who cures the sick, the teacher who instructs the pupils, the pilot who woos the welfare of the passengers. Moreover, the love of life makes those who take the advice of a doctor or a pilot willing to bear any pain or hardship, though they cannot guarantee success; the teacher of the higher life is entrusted with the duty of eradicating diseases and infirmities, and trained to overcome the fiercest waves of lust. Yet people do their utmost to oppose him with their unbridled tongues, and stir up all the mud with unwashed feet. And if John had surrendered himself, and given himself over to tables, how many of the important people could he have satisfied, living as he did in a great city, where every one wanted to dine with him, either to get a blessing,[3]

[1] The contrast with "as quickly as possible" requires this rendering of the preposition, which implies an irregular or unusual action (as in par-akoe, "mis-hearing"). It is so used, again in connection with time of meals, in Pall., *L. H.*, xxxi. 1, lxi. 6—"once a day" or "once every other day"; this meaning occurs on p. 129.

[2] Both favourite metaphors of Chrysostom. "God's providence is unrecognized, as when the pilot is saving the ship in a storm, but the passengers do not recognize his skill in the general confusion" (*adv. Opp.*, vol. iii., 113*b*).

[3] The word is frequent in N.T. for "spiritual blessing" (1 Cor. x. 16; Gal. iii. 14; Jas. iii. 10). In LXX it is used for any benefit bestowed; as in Judges 1. 15, a piece of land;

or because he was poor, or because he was greedy? And how could he have found time for religious meditation, the ministrations to his flock, the study of holy scripture, the care of the widows, the encouragement of the virgins, the nursing of the sick, the assistance of those in distress, the conversion of those in error, the anxious thought for the broken in heart, the visiting of the prisoners? How could he have escaped the reproachful curse of God, pronounced in Ezekiel? "Woe unto the shepherds who feed themselves, and feed not the flock! Ye did not bring again that which had wandered, that which was lost ye sought not, the weak ye visited not, that which was broken ye bound not up; the fatlings ye killed and ate." [1] Of whom Paul writes, "Ye bear with a man, if he bringeth you into bondage, if he devoureth you, if he taketh you captive." [2] "And ye clothe yourselves with the wool, but ye feed not the flock." And He says in Jeremiah of the idle shepherds, "Many shepherds have destroyed my vineyard." [3]

The Good Name of a Priest

Deac. In time, he might have paid his respects to these people, without neglecting ecclesiastical duties, so as not to get himself a bad name, when in everything else he was so eminent.

Bish. This is just what is wanted in a priest—not to get himself a bad name, so as to have full scope for his gifts of speech, his energy, his zeal, and

1 Sam. xxv. 27, Abigail's gift; 2 Kings v. 15, Naaman's. Hence especially of the bread not consecrated at the Eucharist. Socrates tells of one who "took nothing from the Church, save two loaves of eulogiæ each Sunday." Cf. Pall., *L. H.*, xxv. 3, "I am not worse than you, that you should send me a blessing"—of sweetmeats given to a monk. Hence the sense here will be the "getting good" of a worldly, not a spiritual kind; a gift to take home, or the honour of an invitation.

[1] Ezek. xxxiv. 2.

[2] 2 Cor. xi. 20.

[3] Jer. xii. 10.

all the other right dispositions of a priest.[1] Do you not know, my most honoured Theodorus, that one of the beatitudes laid down by the Lord deals with unreasonable accusations? "Blessed are ye, when men shall reproach you, and say all manner of evil things against you.[2] But woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you; for so did their fathers to the prophets."[3] And how could lips trained in divine oracles, and an ear accustomed to listen to divine precepts, endure the gossip of the table, when the Lord says, "No man can serve two masters,"[4] continuing, "Ye cannot serve God and mammon"? We had better find out what is mammon, or we may find ourselves not even serving the two masters, but mammon only. For in this passage He does not mean by "mammon" "the devil," but the vain industry of this world, from which the word of God bids His disciples to stand aloof.

True Priestly Work not in Earthly, but in Spiritual Things

Deac. I am quite satisfied with the light you have thrown upon this question of the table. Now, most holy father, come back to your narrative of events. And do not be vexed with me for raising objections; it is only because I wanted to learn more that I kept questioning your abundant learning at greater length than you liked.

Bish. Let me make this point still more clear to you, Theodorus, most earnest lover of learning. I was myself once one of those who are bent on pleasing the masses with the table; and I say that a bishop, especially the bishop of a large city, who leaves the ministry of the word, and has not in his hands by night and day the tables of the law, and performs his ministrations to the poor not in person, but by proxy, is quite a different person from those who said, "Lo, we have left all, and followed thee; what

[1] He will have a bad name, if he play the host too much.
[2] Matt. v. 11. [3] Luke vi. 26. [4] Matt. vi. 24.

shall we have therefore?" [1] He must be ranked with those who said, "Lord, did we not in thy name do this or that?" and like them, he will hear the answer, "Depart from me, ye cursed; I know you not whence ye are." [2]

For the Word [3] knows not wordless [4] workers; His eye is too pure to look upon evil things. For many so-called bishops, anxious to get rid of the quite reasonable hatred in which they are held, owing to their own characters, and their indifference to spiritual things, do but exchange one evil affection for another—covetousness for vain-glory. While with one hand they do wrong without stint for the sake of unrighteous gain, with the other they set elaborate tables, and rear pillars for lofty buildings,[5] so as to gain a reputation for being good and laborious workers, and win honour instead of dishonour. They forget the Ecclesiast, who built great buildings, and hated them; and clearly forbad such things, when he wrote, "I built me houses and gardens," etc., "and behold, all are vanity; and I hated all my labour, wherein I labour under the sun." [6] He did not say, "Above the sun," or he would have brought spiritual toil into disrepute. In saying this, I do not include in my condemnation those who build reasonably, and of necessity, or beautify Church property; I am thinking of those who waste the money of the poor on hanging corridors, and water-cisterns raised into the air three storeys high, and disreputable baths, hidden from sight, for effeminate men; or spend their gifts of energy upon buildings, either as an excuse for collecting more money, or again, to win the esteem of popular favourites. That is simply to sacrifice everything to give pleasure to sinners. As for me, God forbid, famous Theodorus, that I should ever

[1] Matt. xix. 27. [2] Luke xiii. 27. [3] John i. 1.
[4] "Logos" in Greek means "reason," as well as "reason expressing itself in words." Cf. p. 31, n.
[5] Cf. Theophilus' "lithomania" (p. 51).
[6] Eccl. ii. 5, 11, 18.

please bad people, for I shall never please them, except by methods which do not please Christ.

The Alleged Deposition of Sixteen Bishops

The deacon, much impressed by these remarks, here made a request to the bishop :—

Deac. Your observations are perfectly sound, and there is nothing to be said against them. Now, if you have any knowledge of the arrangements [1] made by the holy John in Asia, as it is with him that our discussion is concerned, let me share it.

Bish. Certainly I have such knowledge.

Deac. From being personally present? Or did you gain your information from others?

Bish. No; I did not miss a word of the trial.

Deac. Then tell me in detail what followed, and how it ended, and how it began. I especially wish to know, because Theophilus said in his indictment, in his anxiety to dignify or to hide his own rash conduct, that the blessed John was so much influenced by the love of power, that he deposed sixteen [2] bishops in a single day and ordained creatures of his own in their stead.

Bish. It was just what one would expect from the character of this wonderful person, to write, and to write falsehoods, against John. By the very steps which he took to hide his own shame, he made it the more conspicuous, and involuntarily established the innocence of John; just as it was in the case of Balaam. If he had succeeded in deposing him, there would have been no need of indictment, or of banishment,

[1] Lit., "things stamped"; the word in late Greek often for "ordain," "decree," of persons in authority. Cf. pp. 78, 125, n.

[2] Socrates says, "Thirteen, in Lycia, Phrygia, and Asia; and also Gerontius, Bishop of Nicomedcia"—on his way home from Ephesus; who being a skilful doctor had much endeared himself to his flock. Chrysostom ordained Pansophius, the late instructor of the Empress, in his place; the action causing great indignation. Apparently the number was six in Asia, seven in Lycia and Phrygia. Isaac's eleventh charge at The Oak was, that he invaded other provinces, and there ordained bishops.

as the deposition is enough to disgrace a deposed person; but as our bishop stood firm in his virtue, against the attempts to depose him, and won victory in defeat, his opponent's malice is as fierce as ever, bearing the palm of defeat for its senseless victory. He swells like a bubble, chafing against himself, writing tracts and detractions. This is what Isaiah meant, when he cried woe upon him who seizes every opportunity of doing, and telling, and writing, lies; "Woe unto them," he says, "who write; for they write iniquity." [1]

The Accusation brought by Eusebius against Antoninus

The number of the bishops whom John deposed in Asia was not sixteen, but six; I make the assertion as at God's judgment throne, not subtracting a single unit from the figures, nor adding a single qualification of his action. My statements are in exact accordance with the facts.

In the thirteenth year of the sixth indiction [2] some bishops from Asia came to Constantinople on business and stayed with us. Besides these, there were other bishops, including one from Scythia, Theotimus,[3] one from Thrace, Ammon the Egyptian, and one from Galatia, Arabianus—all metropolitans, advanced in years; making a total of twenty-two bishops.[4] A certain Eusebius, from the district known

[1] Isa. x. 1.

[2] The text reads, "the thirteenth indiction," clearly in error. An "indiction" (properly the notice of taxation, revised every fifteen years) was a period of fifteen years, instituted by Constantine in 312, when he became undisputed emperor through his victory over Maxentius; possibly wishing to show his zeal for the Faith by abolishing the pagan mode of reckoning (by the Greek "Olympiads" of four years) May 400 is the time of this event.

[3] A Goth, Bishop of Tomis, missionary to the Huns; he refused to sign the resolution of agreement with Epiphanius' condemnation of Origenism.

[4] It was natural that at all times many bishops should visit the capital of the Eastern Empire "on ecclesiastical

as Kilbia, Bishop of Valentinopolis,[1] took the opportunity of these being assembled and holding communion together to come forward in the assembled synod,[2] on the first day of the week, and lay memorials before it, against Antoninus, Bishop of Ephesus; to these charges, so as to be in order, he of course prefixed the name of John. The charges fell under seven heads; first, that he had melted down Church plate, and placed the proceeds to the account of his son; second, that he had carried away marble from the entrance of the baptistery, and used it for the improvement of his own bathroom; next, that he had set up pillars belonging to the Church, which had been in position for many years, in his own dining-room; fourth, that his servant had committed murder, and that he was still keeping him in his service, without bringing him to trial; fifth, that he had sold some land bequeathed to the Church by Basilina, the mother of King Julian, and kept the money; sixth, that after separating from [3] his married wife, he had taken her again, and had had children born to him by her; seventh, that he regarded it as law, and dogma, to sell consecration to bishopricks at prices in proportion to the emoluments. He added that there were persons present who had paid such money, and been consecrated, as well as the man who had received it; and that he had proofs of his statements.

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business"; these gradually formed a "synodus endemusa"—a "home" or "floating synod"—meeting under the presidency of the archbishop. At the Council of Chalcedon the question was raised as to the authority of such a synod, and it was declared to be good. Similar home synods existed at Rome and at Treves, during the residence of the emperors there.

[1] In the province of Asia.

[2] He apparently was not himself a member.

[3] The word is frequent for "saying good-bye to" (Luke ix. 61, etc.), so for "renouncing the world," "retiring to the desert as a monk," etc. According to the "Apostolic Canons," only the lower orders of clergy were allowed to

CHAPTER XIV

THE TRIAL OF ANTONINUS—CHRYSOSTOM'S VISIT TO EPHESUS

John's Moderation

Deac. Pray, father, cut your narrative short; for those who are here with us [1] are grieved to hear of bishops making such assertions, to say nothing of bishops doing such things.

Bish. Woe is me, that I have lived to see these days, in which a sacred office—if under the circumstances it is a sacred office—is being sold for money. "I have become a fool" [2] in giving my account of the doings of John's accusers, who have brought us to this pass. But be patient with me, and you will be surprised at the reasonableness which John showed in this matter, as in others. He restrained his indignation for the time, and said to Eusebius: "Brother Eusebius, as accusations made in a moment of vexation are often not easy to prove, I beg you not to bring a written charge against our brother Antoninus; we will set right the matters which have vexed you."

Eusebius' Persistence

At this Eusebius was very angry, and indulged in harsh language, raging with all his might against Antoninus, and persisting in his accusations. So

marry after their appointment to office; the Council in Trullo ordered that a bishop's wife should retire to a convent, or become a deaconess; that of Cæsarea, that if a priest marries after ordination he must be degraded. For Antoninus to resume relations with his wife was equivalent to marriage after ordination. It was proposed at the Council of Nicæa that married clergy should be compelled to separate from their wives, but the proposal was rejected; though it was generally held that the relations of bishops with their wives should be those of brother and sister. Cf. pp. 129, 136.

[1] The Dialogue is supposed to be carried on amid a circle of listeners.

[2] 2 Cor. xii. 11.

John requested Paul of Heracleia,[1] who seemed to be a warm supporter of Antoninus, to bring about a reconciliation between the two. Then he rose, and went into the church, as it was time for the sacrifice; gave the people the usual salutation,[2] and took his seat with the other bishops. But Eusebius, the accuser, came in unobserved, and in the presence of all the people, and the bishops, presented another memorial, containing the same charges; conjuring John by terrible oaths, nothing less than "by the salvation of the king and queen." He made such a disturbance that the people took alarm at his audacity, and supposed that he was urging John to petition the king for reprieve from a death sentence. So John, struck by the man's persistence, and anxious to keep the people quiet, accepted the document, and after the reading of the divine oracles requested Pansophius, Bishop of Pisidia, to offer the gifts, while he himself retired with the rest of the bishops. For he always objected to offering the sacrifice with a disturbed mind, as the gospel requires: "When thou bringest thy gift," etc.[3]

The Charges made Public

After the dismissal of the people, he carefully considered the situation, and taking his seat in the baptistery [4] with the other bishops, called the accuser, and said to him in the presence of all, "I repeat what I said before, that people under the influence of

[1] He presided as metropolitan (p. 65) at The Oak.

[2] "The bishop at his entry into the church says always, Peace be with you, as a proper salutation when he enters his Father's house" (*Hom. in* 1 *Cor.* xxxvi.; so *in Col.* iii., etc.).

[3] Matt. v. 23. "Good food upsets the nauseated stomach; so does the spiritual food upset the man not of a pure conscience" (*Hom. in Heb.* xvii.). "Approach the mystic rite without disturbance, without molesting your neighbour" (*Hom. in Nat. Chr.* xi.). Conc. Nic. Can. V. orders, "Let one synod be held before Lent, that all ill-feeling may be laid aside, and the gift offered to God in purity." The "gift" is the pure offering of Mal. i. 11.

[4] "Photisterion"; "place of illumination," cf. p. 56, n.

vexation or anger, often say and write a great deal, while their proofs are feeble. If, then, you have certain knowledge of the charges which you wish to bring—for if you can maintain them we do not reject them, nor, if you cannot, do we invite them—before the memorial is read, decide what is best to be done; for after the charges are read, and reach the ears of the public, the proceedings will be on record, and you cannot then, as a bishop, ask for an annulment.[1] However, Eusebius still persisted; so orders were given for the document to be read, and the seven counts which I detailed were read.

The Charge of Simony to be first Investigated

With the contents of the document thus brought to their ears, the senior [2] bishops said to John, Without doubt, each single point of each single count is impious, and forbidden from every point of view by the sacred laws; but we must not appear to spend all our time upon the less weighty charges. The investigation therefore should begin with the most awful of the points; for if that be found to be true, there is no answer to be made upon the other counts, as that one count contains the root which bears fruit in every kind of evil, as the writer said, "The love of money is the root of all evils." [3] For if a man has accepted bribes against the innocent, and thought fit to barter for money his powers of distributing the Holy Spirit, how is he likely to spare the plate,[4] or the stones, or the property, of the Church?

Then John began the investigation, asking Antoninus, "What answer do you make to these charges, brother Antoninus?" He, of course, denied them;

[1] A strange word, probably "abolitio," not "absolutio"—"pardon for offences hastily admitted" (Savile).

[2] "The elders of the bishops," probably with reference to the name of the Roman Senate, "the council of elders."

[3] 1 Tim. vi. 10.

[4] Soz. v. 8 tells of one Theodoret, who held the office of "guardian of the sacred vessels," and was tortured for refusing to surrender them.

for how could he admit his disgrace at the very beginning? Those who had paid the money were questioned, and they, too, denied the charge. These stages of the carefully conducted investigation lasted till two in the afternoon, when the verdict began to take shape on the strength of certain points of evidence.

Absence of the Necessary Witnesses

At last, the result of the inquiry turned upon the question of witnesses, in whose presence the money had been given and accepted. These witnesses were not at hand, and their presence was necessary. In view of the trouble which their attendance would involve, John expressed his readiness to secure the purification of the church, and to save the witnesses inconvenience, by going to Asia in person, and completing the investigation there. Then Antoninus, conscious of his guilt, and observing the resolution and impartiality of John, went secretly to one of the officials, for whom he was looking after some estates in Asia,[1] and begged him to arrange that John should be prevented from going to Asia, promising that he would himself see to the attendance of the witnesses. This man at once had a communication sent from the palace to Bishop John, to this effect: "It is out of the question for you, the bishop, the champion of our souls, to leave the city, when there is such grave expectation of disturbance, and commit yourself to a long absence in Asia, when the witnesses can easily be brought over." It was Gainas, the barbarian, who was expected to cause the disturbance.[2]

[1] The 3rd Canon of Chalcedon (451) gave the confirmation of a General Council to numerous local canons forbidding bishops to be entangled in secular business.

[2] Gainas was a Goth, who had been made commander of the army in Constantinople (in which he had enrolled "his whole tribe"), and sent to check the advance of an insurgent brother Goth, Tribigild. Instead of doing so, he joined forces with him, and advanced upon the city, demanding the

The Delegation of Bishops to meet the Witnesses

Well, to make a long story short, he consented to stay in Constantinople, as he had to consider not only the burden placed upon the witnesses, but also the claims of justice. This postponement for the appearance of the witnesses was a godsend for the accused, as it was now possible to get rid of them by bribery or by pressure. This John foresaw; and accordingly deliberated with the assembled synod the question of sending to Asia some of the bishops present, to examine the witnesses.

Chicanery and Delay

Three bishops were at once appointed to go—Syncletius, metropolitan of Trajanopolis,[1] Hesychius, Bishop of Parius,[2] and Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis; a resolution of the synod being entered upon the minutes, that if either of the litigants did not within two months appear, and stand by his pleas, in Hypoepi, a city of Asia (chosen as at a convenient distance both for the accused persons, and for the other bishops who had to take part with Syncletius and his companions in the trial), he should be

surrender of three Court favourites. Chrysostom was known to be kindly disposed towards the Goths, as he had organized mission work among them (his befriending of heathen against Christians was one of the charges brought against him at The Oak); he therefore was asked to negotiate (hence "the champion of our souls" or "lives"), and was granted the lives of the three, but could not stop Gainas' entry. For some months nothing was done, the barbarians only waiting for orders to sack the city; meanwhile, Gainas asked for a church within the walls, for himself and his fellow-Arians. Chrysostom discussed the matter with him before the Emperor, and the request was refused. In the winter the Goths attacked the palace, but were repulsed through "a vision of angels" (or through the efforts of the citizens), and half the army, with Gainas, retired through the gates, which were at once shut. The rebel forces were thus divided; Gainas fled to Thrace, where he was killed, in January 401. Theodoret, *H. E.*, v. 32, places his application for a church before, not after, his rebellion. [1] In S. Thrace. [2] On the Propontis.

excommunicated. Two of the bishops nominated, Syncletius and Palladius, went down to Smyrna; for Hesychius, who was a friend of Antoninus, pretended that he had fallen ill. They at once notified both parties, by letter, of their arrival, bidding them to go together without delay to the city designated in the resolution, and carry out their promises. Instead of this, they came to terms with one another, thanks to bribery [1] on one side, met by an oath on the other, and before the judges arrived, had become friends. Then they made a great show of hastening to the district of Hypoepi, and calculated to fool the judges by putting off the appearance of witnesses again, on the ground that they were away from home for various unavoidable reasons. Upon this, the judges asked the accuser: "Within how many days will you produce the witnesses? We will wait for them for so long." As he expected that they would soon leave the place, owing to the oppressive weather —it was the hottest period of summer—he promised in writing that within forty days he would either produce the witnesses, or submit to the penalties prescribed by the canons. He was accordingly set free to look for his witnesses; but he did nothing of the sort, but came down to Constantinople, and there remained in hiding.

Death of Antoninus

The judges duly waited for the forty days, and as he did not appear, they sent word to all the bishops of Asia, declaring him to be excommunicate, either as a shirker [2] or as a false accuser. Then they held out for thirty days more, and as he still did not appear, they departed, and came to Constantinople, where they fell in with him, and reproved him for his contemptuous action. He again pleaded the excuse of ill health, and promised to produce the witnesses.

[1] Eusebius is guilty of the very offence he had so violently condemned.

[2] Lit. "deserter"; not daring to face the inquiry.

Thus matters dragged on, until Antoninus, the defendant in Eusebius' suit, died.

The Invitation from Ephesus

At this juncture John received a resolution forwarded from Asia, on the part of the clergy of the Ephesian Church, on the one hand, and of the bishops on the other, making requirement of him, with an awful adjuration, as follows: "Whereas for years past the laws of the Church, and we ourselves, have been in a sad state of confusion for want of good shepherds, we beg your honour to come and lay down an order [1] issued of God for the Church of Ephesus, so long oppressed, on the one hand, by persons holding the views of Arius, on the other, by those who make a great show of professing the views we hold, to secure advantage and domination for themselves; especially as there are many who are lurking like savage wolves, eager to seize the episcopal throne with the help of money."

Chrysostom's Visit to Ephesus

Now John was seriously ill, and it was the stormy season of winter; but he dismissed every difficulty from consideration, and thought only of the settlement of the troubles from which the whole province of Asia was suffering through the inexperience, or lack, of shepherds. Strengthened by his zeal, he embarked and left the city. A violent storm from the north came on, and the sailors were afraid of being cast upon the Proconnesus,[2] so they set the prow to windward, and ran under Mount Trito, where they

[1] The noun of the verb used above (p. 116), our "type," meaning (1) "a blow," (2) "the impress on a coin," (3) in late Greek, "a decree" (*e.g.* Conc. Nic. Can. xix.). The second may be the meaning here (so Stephens); but the adjective (lit. "sent from God") does not seem to suit this sense so well. The point to be settled was, the appointment of a successor to Antoninus.

[2] A promontory on the south shore of the Sea of Marmora, which is so called from the marble quarries on Proconnesus.

cast the anchors, and rode, waiting for the south wind to enable them to reach Apameia. For two whole days they lay without food, the ship rolling heavily, but on the third they arrived at Apameia, where Bishops Paul,[1] Cyrinus,[2] and Palladius[3] were waiting for them; for John had appointed them to be his companions on his visit.

They accomplished the journey to Ephesus on foot, and on their arrival gathered together the bishops of Lydia, Asia, and Caria, making in all seventy persons. Thus they held the ordination,[4] the majority meeting them in the most friendly spirit, especially the Phrygian bishops; so much did they appreciate the wisdom which fell from his mouth, as it is written, "Wisdom is praised in the streets"—that is, in those that speak; "in the broad places she uttereth her voice with outspokenness,"[5] that is, in the hearts that have been enlarged through manifold distresses, as the scripture saith, "In distress thou didst enlarge me."[6] For wisdom is straitened in those that cultivate tares, and choke the word.

[1] Of Crateia (p. 80), not of Heracleia (pp. 23, 65).

[2] Of Chalcedon (pp. 23, 77); at this time a friend of Chrysostom, afterwards a bitter enemy.

[3] Hence the author's knowledge of the details of the journey.

[4] As there was much rivalry for the vacant office, Chrysostom settled the dispute by appointing Heracleides, a Cypriote, one of his deacons, once a monk of Scetis. Hoping to strengthen his case against Chrysostom, Theophilus at The Oak had a charge brought against the new bishop of violence to certain persons, and of "Origenism." As he was not present to answer, a dispute, ending in blows, arose between the bishops of Constantinople and those of Egypt, and Theophilus, finding his plans a failure, "immediately departed for Egypt." Heracleides, however, was subsequently deposed (p. 130).

[5] Prov. i. 20.

[6] Ps. iv. 2.

CHAPTER XV

SIX BISHOPS DEPOSED—CHRYSOSTOM'S WORK UNDONE

Eusebius' Request for Immediate Procedure

THIS was the state of things when the man who caused us all this long story, Eusebius, the accuser of the six other bishops, presented himself to the whole body of bishops, claiming to be admitted to communion with them. Some of the bishops objected, maintaining that as a false accuser he ought not to be admitted. Upon this he played the suppliant, saying, "As the main part of the case has been under investigation for two years, and the adjournment was made to enable the witnesses to be examined, I beseech your love of God, to let me produce the witnesses this very day. For although Bishop Antoninus, who accepted the money, and performed the act of ordination, is dead, there yet remain those who gave the money, and received ordination."

Confession of the Accused Bishops

The assembled synod resolved that the inquiry should be held, and the proceedings began with the reading of the minutes of the previous transactions. Then the witnesses were introduced, and also six of those who had given bribes and received ordination. At first they denied the charge; but the witnesses, some of whom were laymen, others priests, in whom they had evidently trusted, others again women, held to their assertions, and stated the nature of the pledges exchanged, the places, the dates, and the amount. At last, their consciences so much troubled them, that with very little pressure they confessed of their own free will. "We have given bribes," they said; "the thing is admitted, and we have been made bishops, in the expectation that we should be

regarded as exempt from civil duties.[1] And now we beg to be allowed to continue in the ministry of this Church, if there is no impiety in our doing so; or, if that is impossible, that we may receive back the money we have paid. For some of us have given furniture belonging to our wives."

The Sentence

John in answer promised the synod, that with the help of God he would present a petition to the king, and get them freed from civil duties; and bade them order the accused to recover what they had paid from the heirs of Antoninus. So the synod ordered, that they should recover from the heirs of Antoninus, and should communicate within the sanctuary,[2] but not be reckoned as priests, for fear that if their doings were condoned, a custom might arise worthy of Jews or Egyptians, of selling and buying the priesthood. They say that the pestilential patriarch [3]

[1] All citizens possessing twenty-five acres of land were liable to serve on the city council; Constantine exempted the clergy from this duty. "Our pleasure is, that all the clergy be exempted from all public offices whatsoever" (Eus., *Vit. Const.*, x. 7). But as it was found that laymen took inferior offices in the Church to avoid their civil duties, the privilege was afterwards confined to bishops, and to such priests and deacons as were ordained with the consent of the civil court, and otherwise restricted; but still "the Church knows nothing of extraordinary duty or sordid functions" (Theod. Cod. xi. 7). Basil (*Ep.*, 279) asks that the clergy may be exempted from taxes, "according to the ancient law"; Gregory Nazianzen (*Ep.*, 159) complains of a deacon compelled to pay taxes.

[2] "Thysiasterion," properly "the altar," the usual word in the Old Testament; here extended to mean "the place of the altar." So four times in the *Epp.* of Ignatius (about 110) and frequently in later writers.

[3] "Patriarch" is in LXX (1 Chron. xxvii. 22, etc.) the title of a division of a tribe in Israel (Authorised Version, "Princes"). After the fall of Jerusalem, Jewish "patriarchs" were set up at Tiberias and Babylon. The office is referred to by Church writers as of great dignity, but ceased at the end of the fourth century. The reference here is uncertain. "The Patriarch of Egypt" is Theophilus.

of the Jews, whose acts belied his title, used to change the rulers of the synagogues every year, or every other year, as a means of raising money; and that the Patriarch of Egypt emulated him by doing the same, that the word of prophecy might be fulfilled, "Her priests made answer for gifts, and her prophets divined for money."[1]

Re-introduction of the Condemned Bishops

The minutes of all those proceedings, and the names of the judges, are on record. Further, the investigation was not a matter of a single day, as Theophilus falsely asserted, but of two years. Moreover, those who were deposed acquiesced, thankful to be delivered from the judgment to come; indeed, one of them was appointed solicitor for dealing with public affairs.[2] In their places six others were instituted, unmarried men, adorned by graces both of life and speech. And the noble and quarrelsome gentlemen, after John had been exiled, got what they did get (for their villainy has no name,[3] any more than it has a substantial existence),[4] and brought back into the Churches those who had four years before been expelled, while those who had been enthroned with due order they thrust out, scattering the sheep of Christ.

A Vile Person enthroned at Ephesus

Yet the most ridiculous thing of all, though it calls for lamentation rather than laughter, Theodorus,

[1] Micah iii. 11.

[2] "Defensor rerum publicarum." Every large corporation would have such an official, and the Church naturally appointed hers. They were either clergy or laymen, their duties being to maintain the legal rights of the Church, or of individual clergy, against encroachment and oppression, and to expel unlicensed clergy from the capital (Conc. Chalc. Can. xxiii.).

[3] We call it simony, after Simon Magus (p. 5). In the fifth century it was called "Christemporismus," "trafficking in Christ."

[4] Evil being merely a negation of good.

best friend of learning, is yet to follow. As the prophet says, "Both thine ears shall tingle," [1] if you hear it, but as a lover of God you will mourn for the bishops who are behaving as madmen, and with darkened [2] hands outraging the gifts of Christ. The ordinations which Peter and John and their brethren administered with fasting and prayer, and with careful testing by lot, and fear, they administered with revelry and drunkenness, and lamentable bribes, to abortions [3] of men, not worthy to be set with pigs or dogs, creatures without reason; as Job prophesied, impersonating the Saviour, "Whom I thought not worthy of the dogs of my flocks, who lived beneath the nettles." [4]

So these companions of actors and Jews are entrusted by our clever friends with the secrets [5] of the priesthood, as if they were friends [6] of the Saviour, and in consequence the orthodox laity avoid the houses of prayer. For this new and most contemptible form of audacity has actually spread from the Church of Ephesus as far as to us; and it is not to be wondered at, as Ephesus stands upon the sea, and exports its news as easily as its cargoes. For in the place of [7]—no, I will say, in the place of John, the author of the gospel, the loyal disciple who leaned upon the bosom of wisdom, called in Scripture the disciple whom Jesus loved; who was succeeded by Timothy, the disciple of Paul, to whom are addressed

[1] Jer. xix. 3, "both" is in one MS. of LXX, but has probably crept in from 1 Sam. iii. 11.

[2] Rom. i. 21; Eph. iv. 18.

[3] 1 Cor. xv. 8.

[4] Job xxx. 1, 7.

[5] Chrysostom (*Hom. in* 2 *Cor.* xviii) speaks of "ordination, which the initiated know; for all may not be revealed to the uninitiated." So (*Hom. in* 1 *Cor.* xl.) he will not speak of baptism, because of the presence of uninitiated persons.

[6] John xv. 14 (p. 92).

[7] He was going to say "of Heracleides." "I am like-named (homonymus) but not same-named (synonymus) with the Apostle" (*Hom. in Acts* lii.). The Apostle John was regarded as the first Bishop of Ephesus.

the two epistles of the apostle—there succeeds an abomination of desolation.[1] For they consecrated and enthroned the eunuch[2] Victor the tribune, and cast into prison, where he is still languishing, the bishop enthroned by seventy bishops; a man who had lived a solitary life in the desert, trained in every branch of learning,[3] possessed of a profound knowledge of Holy Scripture, and with three years of service as deacon to his record. Would that the eunuch who was consecrated had been trained by a holy life, for then the evil would have been halved; but as it is, we have a worm of earth, a slave of the belly, lustful, fierce, drunken, profligate, venal, illiberal, covetous, a jail-bird[4] from his birth, a sexless creature, neither man nor woman, raging mad; a man who (so I have often been told) carried theatre girls upon his shoulders at drinking parties fit for satyrs, his head garlanded with ivy, and a bowl clasped in his hand, playing the rôle of Dionysus[5] in the fable, as master of libations. All this he did, not before his initiation into the mysteries of Christ, but after his baptism;[6] from which it is a plain inference, that he does not even believe in the resurrection. For how can a man believe in the resurrection, who has made rotten the foundation[7] of the resurrection? As the apostle says, "How shall they preach, unless they believe?"[8] He is moral, thanks to the knife, as to deeds which bring no reward; but

[1] Matt. xxiv. 15.

[2] The first canon of Nicæa forbids ordination to an eunuch; it was earlier urged that Origen's ordination was void, owing to his self-mutilation in his youthful enthusiasm to be above reproach as a teacher of both sexes. Page 174 suggests that he bore the name Eunuchus, and that the language here used is an expensive play upon words. Victor perhaps nominated him, as Eutropius nominated Chrysostom.

[3] Cf. Pall., *L. H.*, xxi. 3.

[4] A word of Palladius' own coinage, lit. "condemned to be put in irons."

[5] The Greek god of the vine.

[6] "Illumination."

[7] *i.e.* his body.

[8] Rom. x. 14.

he is mad upon unfruitful works,[1] from his natural depravity.

Now I have answered your inquiry as to events in Asia, which arose from the statement in Theophilus' letter that John had deposed sixteen bishops. You may be quite sure that the number is six. We have the records preserved, with the signatures of the twenty-two bishops who heard the case from the beginning, and the seventy who effected the deposition, and brought the trial to a conclusion.

CHAPTER XVI

PORPHYRIUS

The Deacon's Inquiry

Deac. Pardon me, father; such deeds overpass[2] drunkenness, and madness, and youthful folly. Madmen, drunkards, and young men, when they are sober again, or have digested their food, or when they have come to years of discretion, as the case may be, are ashamed of their disgraceful or disorderly doings or sayings, and renounce them; these people, after all they have done in mature age and apparently in a sober frame of mind, so far from repenting of their deeds, hope and pray that their wickedness may be permanent and undisturbed. When men have not shrunk from placing the gospel on a polluted head,[3] upon which coarse women have danced;

[1] Eph. v. 11.

[2] Jer. v. 28, LXX.

[3] The earliest account of the ordination of a bishop (*Const. Apost.*, viii. 4, 5) directs that the presiding bishop is to question the priests and laity as to the worthiness of the candidate thrice; then, "silence having been made, one of the first bishops, standing with two others near the altar, the rest silently praying, and the deacons holding the gospels open

with whom are they fit to be ranked, but with those who put the crown of thorns about the head of the Son of God? However, if you have personal knowledge of the circumstances of the consecration [1] of Porphyrius to the bishopric of Antioch, or of those who performed the act of consecration, or of the previous life of the man, whether it was distinguished or not, and of his teaching, whether it be true or false, tell us what you know; especially as he has sent a letter to the Church of Rome, and was not considered worthy of an answer.

A Protestation of Veracity

Bish. My words shall again be the words of truth, for I will not forget the voice of the Master, which says, "For every idle word shall men give account in the day of judgment." [2] Let me venture to add a clause, and say, "For every idle hearing." Do you then guard yourself; if you find me not speaking the truth, do not let my grey hair weigh with you, but only the veracity of my statements. For what profit shall I have from what I have said to-day, or yesterday, if I have told lies, when I am put to shame for ever before the unerring judgment throne? And how shall I bear the mill-stone [3] of slander cast about the neck of my mind, when I am cast down into the pit of hell for the souls who have been caused to offend by my lies?

Porphyrius' Career

Well, this Porphyrius [4] had long been in the Church,

on the head of him who is being ordained, shall address God." A ninth-century MS. directs that "After the Kyrie Eleison, the archbishop lays the gospel upon his head and neck, while other bishops stand by and touch it, and laying his hand upon him, prays thus . . ."

[1] Here the word is not "stretching forth of hands," as usual in this treatise, but "catastasis" (p. 42, n.).

[2] Matt. xii. 36, freely quoted.

[3] Matt. xviii. 6.

[4] Socrates and Sozomen say no more of this man than that Flavianus, his predecessor, had dissented from the deposition

and held office both as deacon and as priest in the presbytery; but his character was quite out of keeping with his long tenure of office, and he was never of the slightest spiritual benefit to the Church. He was always in opposition to the devout bishops in his neighbourhood, and used his position as bishop of the most important city, with the magistrates under his jurisdiction, to make ordination a matter of barter; he exerted his ingenuity to prevent seemly ordinations, and by his uncanny abilities wormed himself into friendship with the bishops in office for the moment, as one may call them, even dragging them down with him against their will, to hold ordinations blasted by the wind.[1] Flattery, coupled with an evil disposition, is a terrible thing; as the comic poet Menander says, "It is hard, Pamphile, for an honest woman to fight with an harlot."[2]

Porphyrius' Character

The more such a man knows the more harm he does. He is ashamed of no one, but the worse a man is, the more he flatters him. As the wise Solomon says, "The words of flatterers are soft; they smite upon the innermost chambers of the belly."[3] He is as much a stranger, or rather an enemy, to self-control in the pleasures of the flesh, as the vulture is to scent; indeed, common report credits him with the unnatural wickedness of Sodom. Nature imposes upon our pleasures laws, and limits, and barriers; if what they say is true, he has trodden down the barrier, burst

of Chrysostom, while he approved of it. A schism arose in the Church of Syria between the supporters and the opponents of Chrysostom, and a law was passed through Arsacius' instrumentality, that all who would not communicate with Porphyrius were to be expelled (p. 91). Hence his connection with our narrative, and the great space devoted to him in it.

[1] *i. e.* "Of short endurance" (the word in Gen. xli. 23, St. Jude 12); so used by Pall., *L. H.*, xlvii. 11. Cf. p. 189.

[2] Fragment 36. Cf. p. 135. Palladius quotes three popular proverbs in his *L. H.*

[3] Prov. xxvi. 22, LXX.

the limit, and made despite of the law, until he has produced the impression that he takes the chair and joins in the convivial gatherings of jugglers, and jockeys, and actors who represent incidents of ancient times with improper posturings and distortions of the leg.[1] He had the hardihood to enter into contests of skill with jugglers, and have friendly intercourse with them; indeed, charges of so doing are entered in the records of several of the magistrates. He has not read the gnomic poet's words, "What thou oughtest not to do, do not even think." [Thanks to him the Mediator was slain with blows,[2] and "he who found was exiled, and the juggler was put to flight."][3]

They say that besides all this wickedness, he was guilty, after his ordination, of melting down (Church) plate, and lavishing the proceeds upon the magistrates, to produce the appearance of having the authority, not of a spiritual guide, but of a tyrant, over those who unhappily fell into his power.[4]

Constantius desired as Bishop

Now the death of Flavianus, Bishop of Antioch, coincided with the exile of John to Armenia. Porphyrius observed that the whole population, men and women alike, hung upon the neck of Constantius the priest, longing to have him (as bishop). He had been the servant of the Church from his earliest childhood; an ambidextrous man, to use a term from the book of Judges.[5] What is generally considered the left hand, was in him stronger than the right of other men. He had first rendered service by writing letters,[6] and been found blameless in regard to unrighteous gain and bribes; next he had been promoted to be reader and

[1] Men played the part of women upon the stage. The *Hom. in Thess.* v. mentions these same points; the moral tone of the stage was extremely low.

[2] Cf. Heb. vi. 6.

[3] "These words are found in the manuscript, but omitted by the editor as alien from the context" (Bigot).

[4] Theodoret says he left many memorials of his loving character. [5] Judges iii. 15. [6] As secretary of the synod.

deacon, and without an effort had mastered the sexual delights which reign among men. As the author of Proverbs says, "The hand of the elect shall easily prevail." [1] For possibly even the vilest of men can master pleasure; either through fear of consequences, or from shame, they may by great exertion restrain their bodily impulses. But it is only those that love God, who through love of the higher can rise superior to the lower—those whom the scripture calls "elect," in the text, "The hand of the elect shall easily prevail." If ever a man was gentle, it was he; or if ever a man was self-disciplined, penetrating of vision, sharp of comprehension, slow to punish, thoughtful, able to draw inferences by reflection, merciful, generous, just in judgment, long-suffering under insults, of ability to win men, oft continuing fasting until evening, so as to relieve the oppressed, of dignified appearance, stern of look, swift of step, celibate, as a bishop should be, ever wearing upon his face, even in sickness, the blossom of a smile.

Porphyrius' Private Ordination as Bishop

Such a man it was whose banishment Porphyrius set himself to bring about by means of bribery; and his method was this. He sent to the capital a message addressed to the officials in authority over the bishops, and procured his exile to Oasis by royal edict, as a seditious agitator. Constantius, however, at once heard of this, and with the help of his friends escaped to Cyprus. But Porphyrius himself had Cyriacus and Diophantus, priests, and other clergy, put under arrest; and then, keeping by his side in hiding the party of Acacius, Severianus, and Antiochus, he waited for the occasion when the whole city went abroad to the suburbs on one of the great pagan festivals, observed every four years in honour of the labours of Hercules, called Olympia, upon which flocks of women stream out with the crowds to Daphne,[2] to

[1] Prov. xii. 24, LXX.

[2] A public park in the suburbs of Antioch.

see the sports. Bursting into the church, with the bishops I mentioned, and a few clergy, he was privately ordained, with closed doors, and in such haste, through fear of discovery, that they did not give themselves time to finish the prayer. Such is adultery, its offspring and its deeds ever bastard.

Porphyrius' Acts of Violence

Severianus and his friends took their bribe-money, and fled through mountains and pathless wastes; they escaped the terror of man, but were pierced through by the terror of God, which they had ignored. Now when the public theatre emptied, and the crowds re-entered the city, they were told what had been done to Porphyrius, and of the drama that Acacius had played. That evening the people forbore, like men flogged for adultery; but next day they rose, and poured through the streets in a great throng, with fire and faggots, determined to destroy Porphyrius with his house. Porphyrius, however, quite aware of the hatred in which he was held, deserted God, and fled to the officer in command of the camp,[1] put money in his hands; and so diverting him from the war with the Isaurians, opened a campaign against the disciples of the Saviour. So the marauding Isaurian savages ravaged Rhosus [2] and Seleucia, while Porphyrius and Valentinus the governor pillaged the Church of the orthodox with an armed force; trampling with their own feet upon the most awful sign of the Cross, which they (the orthodox) bore upon their shoulders [3] to be their teacher, while they offered litanies [4] upon the desolated land.

[1] The word in Acts xxviii. 16, where it means "princeps peregrinorum," in charge of the receiving depot for soldiers passing from and to the armies abroad.

[2] Cape Amanus, on the gulf of Issus.

[3] So Augustine and his forty companions came to Canterbury "bearing a silver cross for their banner, and the image of Our Lord painted on a board; and, singing the litany, they offered up prayers to the Lord" (Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, i. 25).

[4] Cf. p. 46.

The Indignation of the People

A few days afterwards, Porphyrius sent to the capital in great haste, and urged upon the magistrates, who were such men as himself, that a certain creature of their own, old but active, and of an evil disposition and a twisted mind, should be appointed [1] night-prefect, that he might so make himself master of the city by bringing false charges against the good citizens without fear of consequences. It was a fine imitation of the ways of Nero the fighter against God. It is not in him to win men by reason, but to vex them with unreason and cruelty; since he does not make it his aim to please God by leading to Him wandering souls, but to fill his serpent-like belly [2] that crawls upon its chest. So a certain number of the laity, in fear of rough treatment, unwillingly assembled in the church, for the sake of appearances, but in reality, they vituperated the lives of the men, and awaited succour from God.

Cruelty Preferred to Flattery

At this point Theodorus said, in a mazement—

Deac. I note something contrary to natural order in these events, father. As a general rule, vainglorious persons are men-pleasers, and prove to be flatterers, and provide sumptuous tables, to get themselves liked and well spoken of. Often they will even let people spit upon them. So I cannot see how Porphyrius, or any one else, can have practised methods of threats, and punishment, and banishment.

Bish. Yes, this is the extraordinary thing, Theodorus, that they reached such a pitch of wickedness, that so far from being anxious to please men, they did not even give a thought to the disgraceful character of their doings; for wickedness outdoes wickedness in wickedness. Wickedness casts the net of vainglory, when it hopes to catch simple folks by means of

[1] The word for "ordained" in the Church; cf. p. 59.

[2] Or, "the belly of the serpent (Satan) that crawls upon his chest." The Greek is irregular.

flattery; but when the quarry proves to be superior to flattery and the pleasures of the table, it brings up threats and torments, to terrify by cruelty and fear those whom it could not seduce by the pleasures of the table or by flattery. We have seen this in the case of the martyrs. Both methods were employed against them; the snare constructed of bribes and honours, which caught those who had their mouths open for worthless reputation, and also the threat of punishment, which provided the roasting iron, the rack, and the wild beasts, and every kind of horrible torture, and revealed the courageous and the lovers of God.[1] But to return to my story. The leading clergy of Antioch met in secret, without even going near the walls of the church, and all the leading women, for whose sake more particularly the covetous prelates have gone out of their wits. I need not tell you what happened in Constantinople, or what numbers of people, as I told you before, left the church, and gathered in the open air, so that not even our rulers in ecclesiastical affairs had so many auditors—of their silence, for they never tried to speak.

Olympias and Theophilus

Deac. You have relieved the doubts which were in my mind, father, by your presentation of the facts to my eyes. The consistency of your narrative, and your ingenuous explanation, convinces me that these events really happened; for a fictitious narrative cannot be consistent with itself. If it will not burden you, please tell us about Olympias, if you know anything of her.

Bish. Which Olympias? There are several ladies of that name.

Deac. The deaconess of Constantinople, who was the wife of Nevridius the ex-prefect.[2]

[1] A very ungrammatical sentence.

[2] Pall., *L. H.*, lvi., tells us that she was daughter of Seleucus the ex-count, grand-daughter of Ablavius the ex-prefect, and that she gave her silk dresses to the altars (ch. lxi.). See pp. 86, 151.

Bish. I know her very well.

Deac. What sort of a woman is she?

Bish. Do not say woman, but manly creature;[1] she is a man in everything but body.

Deac. How so?

Bish. In life, and in work, and in knowledge, and in her patience under afflictions.

Deac. Why then did Theophilus revile her?

Bish. Which Theophilus?

Deac. The Bishop of Alexandria.

Bish. You appear to me, Theodorus, to have buried in oblivion oceans of words.

Deac. How so?

Bish. The man who did not spare the truth, but trod it underfoot, as my narrative has established, and did not respect the Church universal, for whose sake the Only-begotten, as we proclaim, was done to death, that He might make it one, but disgraced it by his behaviour—has he it in him to spare a widow woman, who spends her life in prayer? Look all round, and see if he ever reviled a bad man; he always has hated devoutness. Why do you not gather from his very letters, how contrary they are one to another? He vituperated Epiphanius, the blessed Bishop of Constantia in Cyprus, who for thirty-six years ruled the Church there, as a heretic, or a paltry schismatic, in the time of Damasus or of the blessed Sericius;[2] but afterwards, in his letter to Pope Innocent, in which he reviled the blessed John, we find him calling Epiphanius a most holy saint. How often do you suppose he kissed Olympias' knees, when he

[1] "Anthropos," "a human being"; below, p. 151, with the feminine article. Pall., *L. H.*, ix., "Melania, the anthropos of God," uses the same most unusual expression; "aner" is generally used for a man, as opposed to a woman. "This book . . . contains memoirs of women, who with masculine and perfect mind have accomplished the struggles of virtuous asceticism" (*Ibid.* Intro.).

[2] Damasus, Bishop of Rome, 367–384; Sericius, 385–398. The particle "or" seems here, and elsewhere in the treatise, equivalent to "and." For Theophilus' relations with Epiphanius, see p. 63.

hoped to get money from her, the woman whom he now reviles; while she threw herself upon the ground in vexation, and shed tears at such things being done by a bishop. However, what were the grounds on which he reviled her?

Olympias' Reception of the Monks

Deac. He said that she had received into her house the monks whom he had expelled.

Bish. Well, is it right or fitting for a bishop to expel any disciple whatever; to say nothing of a monk?

Deac. Yes, if they have offended him, or slandered him.

Bish. Even if they did, ought he to have satisfied his personal indignation? How then shall Theophilus look for the insults which Christ endured, when he is always thinking of his own reputation? Why did he never imitate the teacher who said, "Being reviled, we bless"? [1]

Deac. Then what was he to do, if the monks were unorthodox?

Bish. Whatever they were, he ought to have corrected them and convinced them, not to have expelled them.

Deac. But what if he did this, and they were so contentious, that they refused to be convinced?

Bish. He ought to have carried out the apostle's precept, "The man that is an heretic after one or two admonitions refuse, knowing that such an one is perverted." [2] He does not say, expel him, and rob him, and drive him from his native land, under threat of magistrate's sentence.

Deac. You tell me of rules for a perfect man, a lover of God, enduring of evil.

Bish. And yet it is not a matter for great praise, to bear with an inferior. But if a man is not perfect, so far as is possible, how can he be a bishop? The imperfect will never have consideration for the

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 12. [2] Titus iii. 10.

imperfect. And how can he be called Theophilus, if he does not love God,[1] for Whose sake he ought readily to have borne the insults of men? And if he does not love God, clearly he does not love himself either; and how shall he who is his own enemy love others? So it is not at all strange, that he blamed Olympias for receiving the monks.

Deac. I admit that Theophilus was carried away by his temper when he expelled them, whether they were orthodox or heretical; still, the deaconess ought not to have received them.

The Rightfulness of Olympias' Action

Bish. Well, what did you think of it? That she did right or wrong?

Deac. I said, that she did wrong.

Bish. And doing good is sometimes judged?

Deac. Most certainly, when good is done to bad people, and people who ought not to be treated well.

Bish. Then what were the five thousand, whom the Saviour fed with five barley loaves—good or bad?

Deac. As they were fed by the Saviour, clearly they were good.

Bish. If they were good, why did He feed them with loaves of barley?

Deac. Perhaps because wheaten loaves were scarce, and they were hungry.

Bish. Then how is it that they are reproved for want of faith; as good, or as bad men?

Deac. If they are reproved, clearly they were bad.

Bish. Well, can the same man be both good and bad?

Deac. Certainly.

Bish. How?

Deac. They can be good in comparison with the worse, and bad in comparison with the better.

Bish. Splendid. According to this, the monks were both good and bad. And the most faithful

[1] The name "Theophilus" means "lover of God." Cf. p. 149.

deaconess provided hospitality for them, as good men, but our wonderful bishop expelled them, as bad. He ought not to have done so.

Deac. But he will say to you, " You received my enemies, to my hurt."

Bish. I object. It was wrong for him to call them enemies at all. As an imitator of Christ he ought to endure insults.

Deac. One moment; where are the five thousand reproved, as you said they were, by the Saviour? There is no record of reproof of them in scripture.

Bish. When they assembled and came to Jesus the second time, and were told, " Ye seek me, not because ye saw signs and wonders, but because ye did eat of the loaves, and were filled." [1]

That is very clear, said Theodorus.

Bish. If a man is blamed, he is so far bad.

Deac. Very true.

Bish. Then were those whom the Saviour fed bad, or good?

Deac. I admit that they were bad; for " they that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick." [2]

Bish. Well then; did Olympias do wrong in imitating her Lord, who " maketh his own sun to rise, and sendeth rain, upon righteous and unrighteous"? [3] Even though the Pharisees reproach Him, and say to the disciples, " Your master eateth and drinketh with publicans and sinners." [4]

Deac. It appears that, contrary to the general instincts of mankind, noble actions are being condemned, and disgraceful actions approved.

Bish. What makes you say that, Theodorus, most truth-loving of men?

Deac. I mean that, if you had not made the matter

[1] John vi. 26, " and wonders " occurs in one MS.
[2] Luke v. 31. [3] Matt. v. 45, freely quoted.
[4] Matt. ix. 11; Mark ii. 16. The same combination and order of words, and the addition of " reproach," are found in Pall., *L. H.*, Intro. 11; a strong indication of common authorship.

clear to me, by your logical explanation, I should have been led astray to hold the same senseless opinion as other people; the babblings of Theophilus caught my attention more than the ideal of truth.

Bish. Then conversely, if these holy men are proved not only to be not bad men, but men who have turned many from vice to virtue, clearly their persecutor deserves not to be persecuted in his turn, but to be pitied,[1] as one who is always oppressing the good, and receiving[2] the bad.

Deac. Just so. Even if they cannot be proved to be wise and holy men, as most people say they are; by the lines of reasoning we have been following, Olympias must be freed from blame, as she put into practice the imitation of the Saviour.

Bish. And which testimony to the value of actions do you regard as strongest; that of the gospels, or that of Theophilus?

Deac. Hush, I beg you; I admit that he expelled the men through ill temper and love of domination, and that he reviled Olympias through superstition[3] and enmity, making the monks his excuse. The fact is, that when he found his servile flatteries fail in getting anything out of her beyond food and hospitality, he turned and reviled her; this is his way with every one.

[1] "Weep with me, not for yourselves, but for those who rob you, who are more unfortunate than you" (*Hom. in* 1 *Tim.* xii.). Plato (*Gorg.* lxv.) says that to do wrong is a greater, to suffer wrong a smaller evil.

[2] Acts xviii. 27, xxi. 17. See pp. 159, 165.

[3] The word in Acts xvii. 22, cf. p. 64. Eusebius (*V. C.* liii.) mentions "superstitious persons" who built an altar at the Oak of Mamre. "A false view of religion" seems to be meant; "an unsuitable term" (Savile).

CHAPTER XVII

THE VIRTUES OF THE MONKS, AND OF OLYMPIAS

Hierax and Ammonius

Bish. Listen, then, best of deacons. [You are worth the trouble], for I see that you will do much good in the world; your youthful zeal is a pledge of an honourable old age.[1]

These men from their earliest childhood, brought up by Christian parents, submitted themselves to God, and when quite young refused to be the slaves of vanity, and to associate with the multitude, but found a desolate spot far out of the world, in the south, where they set up huts, to shield them from the fierce heat of the sun, and the dew from the air. Here they lived, spending their time in prayer and reading, producing by manual labour enough fruit of their toil to provide for their frugal nourishment; thinking it better to herd with deer and sparrows and buffaloes, than to feast with people who knew not God. The eldest of them, who was called Hierax,[2] and is still generally known by that name, once an associate of the blessed Antonius,[3] had attained the age of ninety years, or thereabouts; another was Ammonius, sixty years old, and there were besides two anchorite brethren, and one bishop, who were put in pillory and banished under Valens, as all Alexandria knows. Such masters of learning were they, that not a single

[1] Cf. p. 37.

[2] Palladius (*L. H.*, xxii.) heard one of his tales from "the holy Hierax;" so below (p. 148), "as he told us himself"—a frequent formula in the *History*.

[3] St. Antony, who about 305 retired to the Nile, later to the shore of the Red Sea, and was joined by many desiring the ascetic life. These he organized under rule, and is therefore regarded as "the father of monasticism." He died in 365, at the age of one hundred and five. The *Lausiac History* often refers to him with similar admiration.

point of difficulty which men generally find in the scriptures escaped them. Two of them fell asleep, ending their days in Constantinople; Ammonius, as Aurelius and Sisinnius[1] related, had prophesied of his decease, that there would first be a great persecution and schism among the Churches, but that the originators of it would come to a most disgraceful end, and that so the Churches should be made one. This shall come to pass, as it has already come to pass in part.

The Divine Punishment of the Persecutors

For presently certain of the bishops, and of the lay people as well, were attacked by disease, which rent them with sufferings of various kinds, burning their vitals with slow fever, and setting up such intolerable itchings, that they excoriated with their nails the whole surface of their bodies, and by continual intestinal pains. One man had livid dropsical swellings in the feet; another found the fingers which had written the unrighteous signature[2] shaking with discharges, now hot, now cold, which ran from his four limbs. The abdomen was inflamed, and putrefaction in one member exhaled a far-reaching stench, and bred worms. Other symptoms were asthma, and difficulty of breathing, and tensions of all the limbs; nightmares of ravening dogs changing to savages brandishing swords and yelling in strange tongues like the roaring of the sea, made their sleep to be no sleep. One had his right leg broken like a cabbage stalk, by a fall from his horse, and died immediately from the shock; another entirely lost the use of his voice, and for eight months suffered torments[3] upon his bed, unable to lift his

[1] Novatianist (*i. e.* Puritan), Bishop of Constantinople, a man greatly commended by Sozomen for his learning, his life, his character, and his humour.

[2] To Chrysostom's sentence of condemnation.

[3] Lit. "was pickled." So Chrysostom of the Thessalonians (*Hom.* i. *in* 2 *Thess.*; *Hom. in Rom.* xxi.), and often in the Fathers, of martyrs; Pall., *L. H.*, xxxviii.

hand to his mouth. Another's legs were almost eaten away as far as the knees, apparently by aggravated erysipelas; the tongue of another swelled so terribly, they say, with raging fever, that it pressed against his teeth, and blocked the [main channel of] the body. As there was no room for his tongue in the space naturally appointed for it, he wrote a confession of his sins upon a tablet.

One could see the divine wrath carrying out its punitive operations by various forms of vengeance.[1] For as they had provoked the Physician who brings relief to souls, and had driven His mouth-piece [2] from the workshop of salvation, they were delivered over for torture to physicians of the body, who administered pains by the drugs usually prescribed as remedies, and wrought no salvation. For who shall heal him who is being punished by God? As the prophet says, "Shall physicians rise, and praise thee?" [3] Thus perished all who work against the peace of Thy Church, O Lord.

More of the Monks

On the other hand, it is said that the tomb of the monk Ammonius expels the shivering fever;[4] he was buried in the shrine of the apostles, beyond the sea. Bishop Dioscorus, they say, had made it his special petition, that he might see either the peace of the Church, or his own death; as the world was

[1] Socrates tells of Cyrinus, Bishop of Chalcedon, who died after repeated operations as the result of another bishop accidentally treading on his foot; of a terrible storm in Constantinople; and of the death of Eudoxia four days later. All these events were popularly attributed to the Divine wrath at Chrysostom's expulsion. "But whether this be so or not, God knoweth."

[2] "Hypophet," like "prophet"; used from Homer downwards of one who utters an oracle. Eusebius uses it so in *Triak.* x. 4.

[3] Ps. lxxxvii. 11, LXX.

[4] The same statement in regard to Ammonius is made by Palladius (*L. H.*, xi.). The style of writing here, where the author is dealing with the same subject of monks, is noticeably like that of the *History*.

not worthy of peace, he was granted death, and was buried in the martyr's shrine facing the gate of the city,[1] with the result that most of the women gave up taking oaths by the martyr, and now swear by the prayers of Dioscorus. As for the rest of the anchorites, the telling of the tale would take many words; and perhaps you cannot spare the time, famous sir.

Deac. Nay, who is so sorely pressed, that he must refuse a hearing to tales of heroism? Speak, I pray you, and by every fair word at your command draw away my mind from earthly thoughts.

Bish. Well, there is another Hierax; though he bears a Greek name, his life is adorned by the beauty of his character. On first embracing the life of solitary retirement, he withdrew to Mount Porphyrites,[2] quite outside the boundaries of Egypt and Thebais, free from the breath of men; where he lived for four years of strict devotion, finding the virtues of the life themselves sufficient for his comfort. Then he spent twenty-five years in Nitria, with the fathers I have mentioned. He was assailed by demons, as he told us himself, who were transformed into angels of light, and tried to shake him from the hope set before him, by promising him a long life. "You have fifty years to live," they said; "how shall you endure, here in the desert?" But he with the intelligence of faith replied, "You distress me when you tell me of a period shorter than my purpose; I had prepared myself for two hundred years in the desert." Hearing this they vanished howling. Such was the man, whom demons could not shake by the invention of a vast space of time to bring him to accidie,[3] whom Pope

[1] "At The Oak, where the synod was held" (Socrates). The martyr was Mocius (Sozomen).

[2] On the shore of the Red Sea, "seven days' journey from human habitations" (Cassian).

[3] Cf. "How do you endure, struggling with accidie?"—to a recluse, after ten years spent in a tomb (Pall., *L. H.*, v.; cf. xxi. 1, etc.). See Paget, *The Spirit of Discipline*. The patristic writings make continual reference to such "spiritual weariness," the natural temptation of men living a life of contempla-

Theophilus drove from his home by an edict, and brought to such distress, that he made his way to the capital; a man who now has again, since the falling asleep of Ammonius, returned to the sheer desert, in fearful remembrance of the parable of the plough.[1]

Another, a priest called Isaac, a disciple of Macarius[2] the disciple of Antonius, a man who loved the desert to a fault, fifty years of age, who had the whole scripture by heart, and took up horned snakes in his hands unharmed, a virgin from his mother's womb, who at seven years of age had taken to the desert, after forty years was sifted out[3] by Pope Theophilus, with the aforesaid monks.

Another priest Isaac, also the disciple of a disciple of Antonius, the priest Cronius,[4] whom he succeeded, extraordinarily learned, like the first Isaac, in the scriptures, hospitable if ever man was—so much so, that in his extraordinary love of his fellow-men, he established a hostel in the sheer desert for the refreshment of sick monks, and of strangers who visited the district to see the blessed fathers—a stranger, they say, to anger, who had lived for thirty years in retirement, was cruelly treated along with the others. The first of these Isaacs had a hundred and fifty ascetics under him; Theophilus, while he was really a Theophilus,[5] appointed disciples of his, to the number of seven or eight, as bishops. The other had two hundred and ten, and many of his disciples, too, are on the roll of bishops.

These are the men of whom I told you two days ago;[6] how they were driven by Pope Theophilus

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tion, with no human interests to occupy their thoughts, and under the physical strain of asceticism. "My soul melteth away for very heaviness" (Ps. cxix. 28)—in LXX, "for accidie."

[1] Luke ix. 62. Pall., *L. H.*, xxxv. 9, quotes the passage in a similar context.

[2] Cf. Pall., *L. H.*, xvii. [3] Luke xxii. 31.

[4] Also spelt Chronius; cf. Pall., *L. H.*, xxi., etc.

[5] Cf. p. 142.

[6] The dialogue is represented as spread over several days.

from the desert, on account of Isidore the priest. Those are the men, whom priests and Levites passed by, and whom to the shame of men a manly woman received, and to the condemnation of bishops a deaconess hospitably entertained; a woman whose praise dwells in the Churches for many reasons. She followed the example of the famous Samaritan, whoever he was, who found the man maltreated by the robbers half dead in the descent to Jericho, and set him on his own beast, and brought him to the inn, and mingled the oil of love for his fellow-men with the astringent wine, and so healed his swelling wounds.

The Life of Olympias

Now I must leave the monks, to speak of her. What wealth of money or of goods she distributed to the needy it is not for me to say, but for those who benefited by her generosity;[1] as I lived elsewhere, I had no need to be a burden to her.[2] But listen while I tell of greater virtue yet. She was an orphan, and married; but she was not allowed by the foreknowing God, Who sees the issues of men's lives before they come to pass, to be the slave of the pleasure of the flesh which claims the obedience of all, even for twenty months; her husband being speedily called to pay the debt of nature. It is reported by common rumour that she is still a virgin; while she might have yielded to the apostolic rule, "I will that the younger widows marry, keep the house,"[3] she could not bring herself to do so, although she had all the advantages of noble birth, and wealth, and an expensive education, as well as personal beauty and the grace of blossoming womanhood—but leapt free as a gazelle over the snare of second marriage. "For the law is not laid down for a righteous man, but for lawless persons, profane,"[4] insatiate for destruction.

[1] So Pall., *L. H.*, liv. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, x. 8.

[3] 1 Tim. v. 14. Chrysostom offers a warning against second marriages, though he does not condemn them (*de Virg.* xxxvii.).

[4] 1 Tim. i. 9.

Now it happened that through some kind of satanic malice, her premature widowhood was reported to the ears of King Theodosius, who at once set himself to marry her to a kinsman of his own, one Elpidius, a Spaniard. He again and again urged the brave creature [1] to consent, but to his vexation she refused, declaring, "If my King had desired me to live with a husband, he would not have taken away my first; [2] but as He knew me to be unsuitable to the conjugal life, since I am unable to please a husband, He at once set him free from the bond, and delivered me from the burdensome yoke, and from slavery to a husband, while He laid upon my mind His gentle yoke of continence." At this reply, he ordered the prefect, that her property should be held under trust, until she reached her thirtieth year. The officer, instigated by Elpidius, carried out the king's command by causing her all possible annoyance; she was not allowed to have any dealings even with the most eminent of the bishops, or to attend church, in the hope that in utter weariness she might be driven to prefer the proposed marriage. But she rejoiced all the more, and gave thanks to God, and made answer to the king: "You have shown towards my humble self kindness worthy of a king, and suitable to a bishop, in commanding this very heavy burden, which caused me anxiety, to be put in trust for proper administration; you will do better yet, if you order it to be dispersed among the poor, and the Churches. Indeed, it has long been my prayer, to be delivered from the vainglory which might come from distributing it in charity, that I may not be so engrossed in material things as to lose the soul's true wealth." Hearing on his return from the war with Maximus [3] of her enthusiasm for the disciplined

[1] "Anthropos," cf. p. 140.

[2] Cf. Pall., *L. H.*, lxi., where Melania says to her husband, "If God had wished us to have children, He would not have taken away my children untimely."

[3] A.D. 388. Maximus was a rebel, who actually secured rule over Britain, Gaul, and Spain.

life, the king ordered that she should have the control of her property.

Deac. Then John had good reason to hold her in honour, if she was so strict in her self-discipline.

Bish. Yes indeed; she abstains from flesh food, and seldom visits the baths; if her health requires it (she has chronic stomach troubles) she enters the water in her chemise, because, they say, modesty forbids her to look upon herself.

Olympias' Charities

Deac. It is reported that she has entirely maintained the blessed John.

Bish. Even if she has, what kindness did she show to him that was worthy of his virtue? She certainly spared him anxiety for his daily barley bread; and this is no small thing for Christ's workers, whose care, night and day, is for the things of Christ. As Paul says, in saluting Persis, who probably had toiled like Olympias; "Salute," he writes, "Persis the beloved, who laboured much in the Lord," [1] "for all seek their own, and not the things of Christ." [2] I know that she did more to maintain the blessed Nectarius—so much so, that he took her advice even in ecclesiastical affairs—and I need not mention Amphilochius, Optimus, Gregorius, Peter the brother of Basil, and Epiphanius Bishop of Cyprus, those saints to whom she actually made gifts of lands and money. When Optimus was dying in Constantinople, she closed his eyes with her own hands. Besides these, she generously provided everything they required for the wretched Antiochus, Acacius, and Severianus; and to put it briefly, for every priest who visited the city, and a host of ascetics and virgins.[3]

[1] Rom. xvi. 12.

[2] Phil. ii. 21.

[3] "Seeing her bestowing her substance on all who asked for it, John said to her, "I commend your purpose; but he who aims at the height of godly virtue must be a careful steward, while you, adding wealth to those who are wealthy, simply cast your goods into the sea. Of your own free will you have

Chrysostom's Sparing Acceptance

However, as John had decided that he was sent to be a pattern, so to speak, to future bishops of the manner of life required of them, and therefore, that he should preach Christian repentance, as Paul says, at his own charge,[1] without touching anything that belonged to the Church, he accepted meat for each day as it came, and avoided anxiety about such things. They say that he was like a man ashamed of himself,[2] when he partook of material food. When apples are fully ripe, they cannot endure to stay on the branch, but look for the hand of their master; so it is with the saints. When they rise above nature in their love for the beauty of heavenly things, they long, even before the time appointed for their decease, to attain to the promise. We see the same thing in the children of great houses; when they know that honey-cakes are to follow, they often refuse to touch the food set before them, so as to save their appetites for the sweets with which they look forward to satisfying themselves. I leave my observations to the judgment of those who have set out upon the same track in the spiritual journey; for "if the wise man hear a prudent man, he will commend him, and add unto it." [3]

dedicated your substance to the needy, and as you have been appointed to manage your money, you will have to render your accounts. Therefore regulate your giving by the need of those who ask it." Soz. viii. 9; cf. p. 140.

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 18; but in different words.

[2] "I am ashamed when I partake of irrational food." Pall., *L. H.*, i. 3.

[3] Ecclus. xxi. 15.

CHAPTER XVIII

CHRYSOSTOM'S IDEALS

The Example of St. Paul

Deac. You have eased my mind, honoured father, by your painstaking and complete explanation; your narrative is quite consistent with the rumours which had reached our ears, but gives them a new flavour of grace. Yet I must say, that the maintenance of the bishop would have been no burden to the Church, if the holy John had taken his share from the Church; as the writer says, "For the labourer is worthy of his food," [1] and again, "Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Who planteth a vineyard, and partakes not of its fruit?" [2] Do we not find these words, and many others to the same effect, in scripture?

Bish. Appropriately and intelligently spoken, Theodorus; but add to the texts you have quoted the words that follow. True, the sacred law gives to those employed upon sacred things the right to eat of the sacrifice, but note what Paul, ever covetous of the good, adds: "I did not use the power" [3] in things of the body, "that I may be a partaker of the gospel" [4] in things of the spirit. He would not be "a stumbling-block to the weak"; as he says, "If any one see thee, who hast knowledge, sitting at meat" in weakness, "will not his conscience, as he is weak, be edified" [5] into imitating thy weak doings? If the matter ended with us, and there were none coming after us to receive in their turn maintenance from the laity, it would be possible for an offender to say, Let us live as we will, and enjoy the good things of life. But as those who come after us treat us as teachers, and set our rule and our behaviour before their eyes, we are bound to live

[1] 1 Tim. v. 18. "Food" for "reward." [2] 1 Cor. ix. 7.
[3] 1 Cor. ix. 12. [4] 1 Cor. ix. 23. [5] 1 Cor. viii. 9.

not only for ourselves, but for Him Who died and rose for us; [1] to constrain the weakness of the laity, and to lead their ranks to a higher standard of temperance and simplicity, admonishing ourselves. As the writer says, "What man is he that feareth the Lord? He will lay down for him a law in the way that he hath chosen." [2]

The Sense of Responsibility

For the Master lays down the law for the self-willed and miserable people who sin in thoughtlessness, welcoming the spirit of bondage; as the psalmist David says, "The Lord shall lay down a law for sinners in the way," [3] but will punish transgressors. But the righteous man, breaking the bounds of the law of bondage, for his love of the Master, presses on to his rights of sonship by adoption, and becomes his own law-giver. Such was Job, both in deed and word—"I made a covenant with my eyes; I will not look upon a maid." [4] Now what was this covenant? That they who rebel against temperance should have their eyes cut out.[5] In the same way David says, "I have sworn, and am steadfastly purposed, to keep thy righteous judgments;" [6] where his will was hesitating and wavering, he bound it with an oath.

John followed the example of these fathers, as no bastard, but a true son, and in his longing to make the way easy for the common herd of men, enervated through divers lusts, to a sounder standard of life, he made himself his own law-giver; [7] steeling himself by an unalterable decision, he withdrew himself from drinking parties and gatherings of triflers, jokers, and gossips, arming the eye of his soul with the panoply of the spirit, lest folly should find an entrance through revelry and improper talk, and make havoc of temper-

[1] 2 Cor. v. 15. [2] Ps. xxiv. 12.
[3] Ps. xxiv. 8. [4] Job xxxi. 1.
[5] So Bigot, explaining by reference to Matt. v. 29. He suggests an emendation—"that those who rebel should be guided into temperance."
[6] Ps. cxix. 106. Cf. Pall., *L. H.*, xxxii. 7.

ance. As the writer says, "Evil communications corrupt good manners." [1]

Chrysostom's Action in Accordance with Scripture

This is why plots were laid against him; for even when his light shone brightly, he was offensive to them, as a lamp is offensive to watering eyes. Such was his fellow-sufferer, Jeremiah, who lamented with tears the faithlessness of the rulers and the priests, crying, "Who will give to my head water, and fountains of tears to my eyes? And I will weep for my people day and night;" and again, "Who will give me a lodging-place, the furthest in the desert? And I will leave my people, and go from them, for all commit adultery." [2] He calls the assembly of the false prophets and priests a gathering of them that disannul the law.[3] So in another passage he appeals to God, not because God did not know, but because we have to follow his example: "Lord, if I have sat in the assembly of them that make merry; but I lived in godly fear away from thy face; I sat alone, because I was filled with bitterness." [4] Similarly David sings, "I have not sat with the assembly of vanity, and with the transgressors I will not enter;" and he adds, to make his meaning clear, "I have hated the congregation of the evil-doers, and with the ungodly I will not sit; I will wash my hands"—my active powers—"in innocency, and will go round thine altar, O Lord." [5]

But these men cared less than he for the altar, and turned their back upon it, not only in purpose, but in their manner of life; not content with defiling it with unwashed and blood-stained hands, with giving and accepting bribes, and making false statements in writing, they trampled upon it with muddy feet. It is of them that Ezekiel speaks in figure: "And he brought me to the door of the court, and I saw, and behold a hole in the wall. And he said unto me,

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 33. [2] Jer. ix. 1, 2.
[3] Gal. iii. 15; cf. Jer. v. 11, LXX.
[4] Jer. xv. 17. [5] Ps. xxv. 4–6.

Dig through, son of man. And I dug through, and behold, a door. And he said unto me, Go in, and see the wicked lawlessness, which they do here. And I went in, and behold, every likeness of creeping thing, and beast, and vain idols, abominations. And he said unto me, Thou hast seen, son of man, what the elders of the house of Israel do in the dark, in the chamber" (he means, in their minds). "For they said, The Lord seeth us not, the Lord hath forsaken the earth. And he said unto me, Thou shalt see yet greater lawlessness, which these do. And he brought me to another place, and showed me; and behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz." And again, "He brought me into the inner house of the Lord; and behold there, twenty and four men, and their faces turned away, and their backs to the altar. And he said unto me, Are these small things, that the house of Israel doeth?" [1]

We could not help calling to mind the passage of the prophet, at the thought of these particularly reckless people, who think that they are somewhat [2] and deceive themselves; who disturb the peace of the Church, because they have given their backs to the Lord's table, "Whose judgment ceaseth not, and their destruction slumbereth not;" [3] "who mind earthly things." [4] Of them Judas the brother of James says, "These are they who are hidden rocks in your love feasts, feasting with you without fear, shepherds that feed themselves; clouds without water, carried along by winds, wild waves of the sea foaming out their own shame, wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness hath been reserved for ever." [5] In calling them "clouds without water," he suggested the evil hail with which they mar the vine; "wandering stars" more distantly suggests the plot against the ship. Both ship and vine are the Church. What consequences are bound to follow from such things? Hear again the same prophet Ezekiel, telling us: "And he

[1] Ezek. viii. 7–17. [2] Gal. ii. 6. [3] 2 Peter ii. 3.
[4] Phil. iii. 19. [5] Jude 12, 13.

showed me, and behold men came from the way of the upper gate, which looketh toward the north, every man with his slaughter weapon in his hand. And one man in the midst of them, clothed down to the feet, and a girdle of sapphire upon his loins. And they went in, and stood beside the brazen altar, and the glory of the God of Israel which was upon them went up from the cherubim to the threshold of the house. And he called the man who was clothed down to the feet, who had the girdle upon his loins. And the Lord said unto him, Go through the midst of the city, even Jerusalem, and set the sign upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the lawlessness that is done in the midst of them. And to them he said"—clearly, to the six who had the slaughter weapons—" in mine hearing, Go into the city after him"—clearly, after the man who put the signs upon their foreheads—" and smite; let not your eye spare, neither have ye pity; slay utterly the old man, the young man, and maiden, and little children and women. But come not near any man upon whom is the sign, and begin at my sanctuary. Then they began at the elders which were in the house of the Lord." [1]

A Piece of Exegesis

If any one should imagine that this prophecy is concerned only with occurrences in Judæa, I should consider him to be in ignorance of the fact of the Lord's sojourn upon earth; for Ezekiel was not a priest prior to the Captivity. Under the dispensation of God, he was carried into captivity while quite a child, with the rest of the tribe of Levi, and only in his thirtieth year, while fulfilling his office as a priest among the exiles, was he found worthy of the vision of things to be; as he tells us himself, " And it came to pass in the thirtieth year, in the fourth month, on the fifth day of the month; and I was in the midst of the captivity by the river Chebar." [2] And again, shortly after-

[1] Ezek. ix. 1–6. [2] Ezek. i. 1–3.

wards: "The word of the Lord came to Ezekiel, the son of Buzi, the priest, in the land of the Chaldæans by the river Chebar."

If our objector, finding himself in difficulties, should now say to us: It is the Saviour who went first and set the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of the men, and then, when they would not believe the Saviour, the Roman empire followed, in the days of Vespasian, who forty years later destroyed the synagogue which had worked iniquity; we accept[1] [as a Christian] a man who holds these views, but we urge him, as a son of the New Covenant,[2] to follow the guidance of Paul our instructor in these mysteries, who says of all the books of this kind, "These things happened to them in figure, and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come."[3]

Now I do not say this because I make it my prayer that the sword may come upon the enemies of God. God forbid. The prophet does not indicate a sword of steel, but some other punitive force, of which the same Ezekiel says, "The land upon which I bring a sword" ("I bring" for "I will allow"), "and the people of the land take a man, and set him for their watchman, and the watchman seeth the sword coming, and bloweth with the trumpet, and warneth the people, and he that heareth hear, and keepeth not guard; and the sword come and take any one, his blood will I require of him, because he heard not the sound of of the trumpet." And again: "But if the watchman seeth the sword coming, and blow not the trumpet, and give not warning to the people, and the sword come and take any one, his blood will I require at the watchman's hand, because he saw the sword, yet did not blow."[4]

Now the blessed John slept not the sleep of unbelief,

[1] Acts xviii. 27.

[2] A Jewish boy at the age of thirteen became "a son of the law." "Spiritual persons are the sons of the font" (Basil of Seleucia, *Or.* xxvii.).

[3] 1 Cor. x. 11.

[4] Ezek. xxxiii. 2–6.

nor was he heedless with the heedlessness of pleasure-seeking, but with this peril ever before his eyes, he cried more clearly than a trumpet;[1] no uncertain sound he uttered,[2] but gave men certain knowledge of the sword of the devil, and urged all men to flee from it. And all who had a clear conscience like a sign upon the forehead of their souls, by the grace of God were saved with you the faithful of Rome,[3] while all whose conscience is defiled set people and priests on fire with quarrels among themselves, so as to hide their own in the general wickedness.

The Use of the Opportunity

Deac. Admirably said. But it is admitted that it is impossible for a man to be found blameless and perfect in this earthly life; for the Scripture says repeatedly, "Who shall boast that he hath his heart pure? Or who shall be confident that he is clean from sin?"[4] Be that as may be, the blessed John at any rate did not know how to use the opportunity, for one ought not to interfere with those in power.[5]

Bish. My good Theodorus, I believe you are a rascal. At first you showed us the sympathy that we expected of you, and a certain amount of compunction;[6] but little by little you are proving to have a liking for scurrilities. Why, even his recognized enemies never found such severe fault with his behaviour.

Deac. Why are you angry, father, you who have the reputation for being a lover of truth, because I said that the blessed John did not grasp the opportunity? The scripture says, "Stand not in the place of rulers,"[7] and again, "Buying up the opportunity."[8]

[1] "More clearly than a trumpet do I lift my voice" (*Or.* lxiv. *de Jej.*).

[2] 1 Cor. xiv. 8. [3] Rom. i. 8. [4] Prov. xx. 9.

[5] The quotations next given by the deacon make this rendering of the passive participle preferable to "the established order of things." Cf. p. 33.

[6] Cf. Acts ii. 37. [7] Prov. xxv.6. [8] Col. iv. 5.

A specially necessary rule in dealing with men who will not accept advice or improvement.

Bish. Blessed are ye, who so interpret the scriptures. The verse in Ecclesiastes,[1] "Stand not in the place of rulers," is addressed to those who are unworthy of, and unequal to, the priesthood, to prevent them from seizing upon it. By "rulers," he means the teachers of righteousness; first the apostles, who were rulers, clothed with the spirit of power, and next, those who follow their example. And the phrase "to buy up the opportunity" is used, not to make us hypocrites, but to bid us, when the opportunity of sin arises, to buy the opportunity by means of virtue, and not to sell it to sin. He who little by little thus buys up the opportunity, finds that he has bought up his whole existence; he has passed by the pleasures of life, to find those that are above life.[2] This is what the martyrs have done; they gave away their life in the flesh, and inherited immortality. So they bought up the opportunity in the true sense.

Scriptural Illustrations

If my view is unsound, it will appear that Moses, Elias, Michaiah, Daniel, John the Baptist, Esaias, Peter and Paul, not to mention others, were ignorant of their own opportunities. Moses, because he reproved a man, secured his safety by flight, and fed the flocks of a Gentile upon the mountains; Elias, overcome by drowsiness in his grief, fell asleep, but as he could find no shade of wall or rock, it was under a juniper bush, which gave him scanty shelter. Esaias was sawn asunder; Daniel for his piety was let down into a den of lions; Michaiah was kept a prisoner in gaol

[1] A slip.

[2] "The opportunity is not yours; ye are strangers and pilgrims. Seek not honours and powers, but endure all things, and so buy up the opportunity, as a man in a big house, attacked by robbers, surrenders all, in order to buy himself from them," is Chrysostom's comment on the passage.

(by which we must understand some underground chamber), condemned to be fed with the bread of affliction and a bare allowance of water, that after prolonged languishing there his life might be cut short through his bad treatment; all because of his outspoken language to one of the kings. What will you say to me of John, unequalled among them that are born of women? Did he not know how to use the opportunity, because he had his head cut off for his undisguised reproof of the king's adultery; he who showed the same care for Herod as a physician, when he cuts away, or cauterizes, the incurable ailment of a patient?

No Shrinking from Reproof

On the same principle, John reproved his patients, from pity or from affection. If the Baptist did not know the opportunity, how is it that he recognized the Artificer and Maker of the ages, when he said, "Behold the Lamb of God, who beareth the sin of the world"?[1] And how is it that Paul and Peter did not know the opportunity; those pillars of the Church, who even after their deaths shut and open the opportunities of repentance to those who desire it, and knock at the door? I suppose they were specially ignorant, as one was crucified with feet in air, as a sign of his heavenward journey, the other beheaded, because of his bold speaking in Christ; that he might not fall away from the Head Who is Head indeed. Do not then listen to those who criticize and revile the bold speaking of the saints. This is the practice of the Gentiles, and of those who think themselves clever, to whom life, and scurrilous jests at the courage of the saints are dear.

Reproof must not be Personal

No, the sword must not be blunt, and the bold word must not be left unspoken. Kindness and bold speaking are as inseparable as scent and perfume. I

[1] John i. 36.

will admit that if reproofs were offered personally,[1] before a man's own household, or friends, or relatives, in whose presence he would not like even to blush, the bold speaker would be open, possibly, to the charge of ignorance of the right opportunity or place; but if the Church is like a butcher's shop, in which praise is given to those who do well, and blame to those who are careless, why should we be vexed at reproofs given without names being mentioned, and for our good? That means feeding our faults, instead of obeying him who said, "All that is sold in the shambles eat, asking no questions."[2] Otherwise, we shall again [3] find the saints to have been the occasion of stumbling to some cities and countries through their reproofs, and to have ruined others by their praises.

The Universal in the Particular

Job is the first instance in point; he censures the land of Phœnicia,[4] for inviting his enemy, Satan; as he says, "The peoples of the Phœnicians part him among themselves." [5] Next, Moses and the prophets censure Egypt, and call it an iron furnace,[6] and darkness, while they praise Palestine, and call it a land of promise; yet Egypt proves to be a land of promise to the good, and Palestine, not only an iron furnace, but outer darkness, through unbelief, to the

[1] In answer to the charge brought against Chrysostom of speaking of Eudoxia as "Jezebel" and "Herodias' daughter." "Let no one be vexed with me; I shall not speak personally" (*Hom. in Eph.* iii.).

[2] 1 Cor. x. 25.

[3] Like Moses, Elias, and the others.

[4] Though he speaks of Phœnicians, etc., by name, he is not attacking their personal faults, but using them as examples of faults common to all men.

[5] Job xl. 25, LXX (xli. 6, R.V.). "Shall they part him"—behemoth, the hippopotamus—"among the merchants?"—in Hebrew "among the Canaanites," whose name, as famous merchants, is used for "merchants" generally. Palladius is right in regarding "Phœnicians" as a general term for "merchants," but his exegesis of behemoth is unsound.

[6] Deut. iv. 20.

sluggard. It is not the places that are blamed or praised, but the practices of their inhabitants. However, I need not elaborate my argument at length; it will serve for a beginning, briefly to suggest instances. When Paul calls the Cretans liars,[1] and the Galatians foolish,[2] and the Corinthians puffed up,[3] and so on, was he thinking only of the faults of these particular peoples, and reproving them alone, or of those of men in general? Or again, when he calls the Romans faithful,[4] and the Ephesians, to whom he writes in a loftier strain, enlightened,[5] and the Thessalonians, lovers of the brethren,[6] was his commendation intended only for those peoples? Certainly not; guided by the Spirit, he bestowed praise and blame, that the man who is worthy of praise may know it, and be strengthened in his zeal, while he who is otherwise may be distressed as he reads, and purge himself from the cause of blame. So the Galatians are not the only foolish people, the Cretans the only liars, the Corinthians the only proud; for all these are universal failings, because the human nature which sins and works righteousness is one, and in one and the same matter tends to sinfulness or to righteousness, according to the man's conscious choice.

This was the principle of John's boldness of speech in the Church;[7] it would be more true to say, that to the hungry he gave their portion of the meat of virtue, and banished sin with open reproofs, in obedience to him who said, "Him who sins, reprove before all, that the rest also may fear."[8] But if some people are so grievously afflicted with pride or

[1] Titus i. 12. [2] Gal. iii. 1.
[3] 1 Cor. v. 2. [4] Rom. i. 8.
[5] Eph. i. 18, but the word here is "mystics," "initiated ones."
[6] 1 Thess. v. 11
[7] "You will say, Do not lay such a burden upon your hearers; you make us blush. But I cannot tolerate such objections. If I was asking for myself, there would be some ground for shame; but I ask it for your good, and therefore I am bold of speech" (*Hom. in* 1 *Cor.* xl. 3).
[8] 1 Tim. v. 20.

folly, that they wish the pleasures in which they indulge to be commended, the servants of God have no such custom. You see, those who are indignant at reproof given to covetousness, and fornication, and other foul pleasures, virtually declare simply that these offences, however poisonous, ought to be accepted (as Christian).

CHAPTER XIX

A DEFENCE AGAINST THE CHARGES OF PRIDE AND INSOLENCE

Pride shown by Self-isolation

Deac. Very many thanks, father, for the visit of your brotherly love; it has been helpful to us, and a remembrance for all our lives.

After these high compliments, Theodorus held his peace; but one of the company burst in with:

Well then, how do you account for his being haughty,[1] if he was adorned with all these excellencies?

Bish. Did you know him to be haughty by personal experience, or did some one tell you that he was so?

The speaker answered:

I do not know the man; but I heard the remark made by a certain tanner, that it was rare for him to enter into company, except in the Church, and that he chafed at lengthy interviews with persons who wished for them. It is a proof of conceit and pride,[2] to avoid intercourse with those who desire it.

The Example of Our Lord and of the Baptist

Bish. Ah, a tanner; a man who takes the stench of his workshop home to live with him. Quite the right man to find fault with John's philosophy.[3]

[1] Rom. i. 30; 2 Tim. iii. 2, R.V.
[2] 1 Tim. iii. 6, vi. 4.
[3] Cf. p. 93, n.

If it is a proof of conceit to avoid crowds, according to your argument, John the Baptist must have been a conceited man, when he retired into the deserts. One step further, and it will be the Saviour Himself; for it is written, "Jesus, seeing the multitudes, went up into a mountain, and when he was set, his disciples came unto him"[1]—not the multitudes—and again, "Seeing the multitudes, he withdrew apart."[2] It was to follow His example, so far as he could, that good Bishop John too withdrew from the multitudes, while he delighted in the company of those who really wished to learn.

Deac. A good argument from scripture proofs. But what have you to say to the charge that he was insolent,[3] when he kept himself in retirement not only from large gatherings, but even from the society of one or two individuals?

A Single Person can be a Crowd

Bish. A single person can be a particularly unprofitable and misleading crowd. Such was the man who said to Jesus, "Master, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest."[4] Do you not see that the Saviour was escaping from the crowd, when He said, "Foxes have holes," etc.? But you cannot convince me, that after his baptism John ever swore, or made another swear, or slandered, or lied, or cursed, or indulged in frivolities.[5]

Deac. No, I make no assertion of this sort; only that he was insolent.

Bish. My excellent friend, how was it possible for the man who was guilty of none of these things to be insolent, and lose control over his tongue? A small sin defiles as much as a great one.

Deac. Well then, tell me, what do these popular statements mean? And when will they cease?

[1] Matt. v. 1. [2] Matt. viii. 18.
[3] Rom. i. 30; 1 Tim. i. 13. [4] Matt. viii. 19.
[5] "He never lied, nor swore, nor abused any one, nor spoke without necessity." Pall., *L. H.*, ix.

Christ Himself was Similarly Reviled

Bish. Hear the whole story, and do not pay attention to idle reports; you will never find an excuse for doing that. People whose lives are not upright never have upright thoughts; they are for ever gossiping, and have no time for anything else, especially if no one dares to disagree with them. Why, they made all sorts of monstrous statements about the Saviour—God Himself, Who in life, and speech, and act, was above man, above prophet. They heaped insult upon insult, as thick as a herd of swine or a swarm of flies; such was the manner of the time. Some said, "He deceives the world;" [1] others, "He casts out devils in Beelzebul, chief of the devils;" [2] others, "Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber;" [3] others again, "He is a Samaritan, and has a devil." [4] What would be the good of my gathering all their vapourings together? The Saviour Himself knew what was going on, when He said to His apostles, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" [5] The disciples replied by mentioning the most complimentary of the current ideas about Him: "Some say Elias, some Jeremias, others, John the Baptist;" they do not quote the language of the vilest of men. So He asked them again, distinguishing them from the "men" of whom He had spoken before (and rightly; for in mind they were not men, but the sons of God, for to us the Word "gave power to become children of God"),[6] "But whom say ye that I am?" Then Peter, expressing the mind of them all, answered, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." The Saviour accepted the correctness of this answer, and declared, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock," that is, "the confession," [7] "I will build my Church, and gates of Hades shall not prevail against it."

[1] John vii. 12. [2] Luke xi. 15 [3] Luke vii. 34.
[4] John viii. 48. [5] Matt. xvi. 13. [6] John i. 12.
[7] So the Fathers generally, and Chrysostom *in loc.*, "That is, on the faith of his confession."

Abuse of the Living turns to Honour of the Dead

You will find the same characteristics in the blame or praise given not only to John, but to all. Just as at that time all the work of Christ and His apostles was being reviled—the Ephesians shouted, "These are they that have turned the world upside down," [1]—but all that has ceased now, and they are glorified; so you will find it when this generation has passed. John will be honoured as a martyr,[2] when those who are set against his good reputation are brought to dust; people on the level of pigs or dogs will say, "He deceives the world," etc., while disciples will honestly and cautiously inquire into his conduct, and say,[3] "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." And if, in the case of the Saviour Christ, among so many thousands of men only twelve were found at first to recognize Jesus, while the majority even to this day talk nonsense about Him; why need we be so particular as to what is said about John, a man who was not fit to be compared with the spittle of Christ? With the spittle, do I say? Not with the hem of His

[1] Acts xvii. 6. It was the Jews of Thessalonica who said so.

[2] He was doubtless so honoured at the time the Dialogue was written. "Bishop Proclus won back to the Church those who were in separation because of the deposition of John, prudently comforting their distress. He brought back to Constantinople the body of John, which had been buried at Comana, and laid it with much public ceremony in the Church of the Apostles, on January 27, 438. And I marvel, that ill-will touched Origen after his death, and spared John. Origen, two hundred years after his decease, was excommunicated by Theophilus, John, thirty years after it, was received into communion by Proclus" (Socr. vii. 45). The Emperor Theodosius II laid his face on the reliquary, and implored forgiveness for the wrongs done to Chrysostom by his father and mother. His remains were placed in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople, but later removed to Rome, and now lie in "St. Chrysostom's Chapel" in St. Peter's Cathedral. January 27 is still his feast-day in the Roman Church; in the Greek Church Basil the Great and Gregory the Divine are commemorated with him on January 30.

[3] *i. e.* use language corresponding to.

garment. "All the nations," says Esaias, "shall be counted as a drop from a bottle, and as spittle." [1]

Jesting Words taken Seriously

As for what you said about his being insolent, the facts are these. In the first place, it was impossible for him to grant favours, much less to be insolent, to everybody; but in dealing with any of his genuine disciples, or clergy, or bishops, if he noticed them boasting of their abstinence from anything, or of their correctness in the practice of bodily discipline, he playfully rallied them, by giving them nicknames expressing the opposite.[2] For instance, he would call the teetotaller a drunkard, the man living in holy poverty covetous, the charitable man a thief. It is a kindly method of instruction for true men, to strengthen qualities which they possess, by speaking of qualities which they do not possess. The truth is, that he used to honour a self-restrained youth more than a licentious senior, a studious senior more than an ignorant junior, a layman who had embraced holy poverty more than a trained scholar who was covetous, a virtuous man living in the world more than an idle monk.

Scriptural Reproofs far more Severe

Perhaps people who are always on the look-out for honours call this insolence; but John says to those who came to put themselves under his instruction, "O generation of vipers, who hath warned you to flee from the wrath to come?" [3] And Paul, in the Acts, says to the chief priest, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall;" [4] and the Saviour in one place says to the Jews, "A wicked and adulterous generation seeks after a sign," [5] and in another, to all the apostles,

[1] Isa. xl. 15.

[2] At The Oak Chrysostom was accused of using insulting language to clergy.

[3] Luke iii. 7. [4] Acts xxiii. 3. [5] Matt. xii. 39.

"O fools and slow of heart." [1] In yet another He calls Peter, Satan—"Get thee behind me, Satan; for thou art an offence unto me." [2] Yet there was no grave offence, which called for these severe expressions.

The Purpose of Self-isolation; with Scriptural Examples

Let us then make the love of learning [3] our delight in silence, as we cannot judge spiritual persons.[4] They are not insolent to us because they hate us, nor do they love solitude because they are puffed up with pride; their one aim is service springing from love. This again is why we find all those that are described to us in the holy records as good men, declining and turning away from ignorant [5] persons, for fear that they may in time become used to their ways through familiarity, and so adopt a lower standard of virtue, or acquire their failings. Let Sarah be our first instance. She urged her husband Abraham to banish from the domestic hearth the son of the bond-maid, while he was still quite a child; for she objected to his playing with her son Isaac, for fear that if they amused themselves together, he might be demoralized by Ishmael's behaviour and manners. Then Jacob secured his safety by flight, and set out for Mesopotamia, to sojourn there. Next, Lot was warned by the angels to move from among the impious men of Sodom; yes, and Moses, as I said before, when he grew up, and had refused to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter,[6] determined to separate himself from the tyrant and his men-at-arms,[7] and warned those who were of the same mind as himself to start off with him, and make the exodus their first care. The prophets, too, shunned the

[1] Luke xxiv. 25. "All the apostles" is an error.
[2] Matt. xvi. 23.
[3] Rather than reputation.
[4] 1 Cor. ii. 15.
[5] 2 Tim. ii. 23. Ignorant of Christian instruction or discipline (Eph. vi. 4; 2 Tim. iii. 16).
[6] Heb. xi. 24.
[7] A word frequently used to express pomp of any sort.

worthless crowd, and generally lived in the deserts; the apostle said of them, "They wandered in deserts, and mountains, and caves, and the holes of the earth."[1] This was to avoid mingling with the lawless, and because they knew that association has power to deceive, and reduce to a common level those who spend their days together, and more, that such intercourse is of itself blameworthy and poisonous, and even disgraceful. It is against nature to put up with a thing one dislikes, or even to [2] tolerate it for a short time; for like always attracts like (as the saying is, "Every beast loveth his like;" [3] but the unlike is hostile and alien). Who in the world can train a grain-eating dove or pigeon to feed with carnivorous martens or ravens? Or the herbivorous goose or crane to herd with vultures that pick bones? For what communion hath light with darkness,[4] or virtue with vice, or the bad with the good?

The Meaning of "all Things to all Men"

Deac. How then is it that the apostle says, "I became all things to all men, to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to the weak as weak, that I might gain the weak; to them that are without law as without law, that I might gain them that are without law"? [5]

Bish. This quotation, my dear sir, does not support your contention; for Paul did not say, I became careless to the careless, or frivolous to the frivolous, or covetous to the covetous, or anything of the sort, but, "I became as this or that"—not, "I became this." For "I became as this" is not the same as "I became this." The words and deeds of the apostle are "such as" (those of others). His condescension possibly did no great good, but it certainly did no harm; "I became to the Jews as a Jew, that I might gain Jews." And yet he was of the Jews, for he was circumcised; in what sense then does he say,

[1] Heb. xi. 38.
[2] Or, by a slight correction, "though one may."
[3] Eccles. xiii. 15. [4] 2 Cor. vi. 14. [5] 1 Cor. ix. 20, 21.

"As a Jew," not, "I became a Jew"? He was often to be found keeping the Sabbath, and fasting, with Jews, without detriment to the teachings of the Saviour, in hopes of leading them on to a more perfect knowledge, through familiarity and companionship with[1] him; just as physicians do not always stay with their patients, or suffer from the same complaints[2] or the same delirious cravings as they. The manner of life which befits a teacher requires that he does not spend much time among crowds, but that he keeps quiet, and investigates the differences between various characters by careful research. This is the method of scientific physicians. They devote themselves mostly to their books, and so can diagnose the causes of complaints, and prescribe the remedies for them; they only come near to the sick so far as is necessary to discover the mischief, and administer the medicine, and do not play, or take meals, with them. Medical skill does not profess to be able to eat or play with patients, but to restore the sick to health.

Have done then, I beg, and do not keep worrying me with the same objections. Virtue is never vanquished by the cavils of chatterers. Instead of that, accept my view, and set a guard at the doors of your ears, to keep them from reporting everything they hear, and receiving it into the store-room, to the disturbance of your mind. And now allow me to tell the rest of my story; for I must hasten on my way.

And Theodorus said—

Deac. Where are the bishops who were sent with our delegates, Eulysius and Palladius, and Cyriacus and Demetrius?[3] We have heard a vague rumour that they were banished.

Bish. If my account of the career of the blessed John appears to you clear, and to contain no hidden falsehood, and if you bear in mind what I have said, I will answer any question you wish to ask.

[1] Lit. "walking with"; but not a New Testament word.

[2] "Skilful physicians should have had all manner of diseases in their own persons." Plato, *Republic*, p. 408.

[3] See p. 178.

CHAPTER XX

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE SAINTS, AND THE PROVIDENCE OF GOD

The Value of Saintly Example

Deac. I am as fully persuaded of the truth as if I had been on the spot myself. The best proof of my acceptance of your narrative is the attention I have paid to it. While I have the recollection of it still ringing in my ears, I shall possibly commit it to writing [1] in ink, upon a prime piece of parchment, as a memorial to our own generation, and for the benefit of those who aspire to the episcopate; so that they may either be such as was the holy John, or such as you, who have emulated the way of the martyrs on behalf of the truth, or else may give up trying to bear a burden beyond their strength, and be content with the unadventurous life of the layman.[2]

When experienced pilots are available, it is better to pay one's fare, and get safely to port as a passenger, than to take the pilot's place oneself, and lose vessel and cargo together by shipwreck. You have given us an account of the career of the blessed John; of the strict ordering of his life, of his splendid work in the Churches of Antioch and Constantinople, of his advancement, of the plots formed against him, and of all his

[1] Pall., *L. H.*, Intro. "This book is written with a view to stirring to rivalry those who wish to realize the heavenly mode of life, and desire to tread the road which leads to the Kingdom of Heaven."

[2] "The bishop cannot sin unobserved. Let him be angry, let him laugh, let him dream of a moment's recreation, and many are offended, scoff, call to mind previous bishops, and abuse the present one. Yet if he enter the palace, who is first? If he go to visit ladies, or the houses of the great, none is preferred before him. I speak not wishing to put bishops to shame, but to repress your hankering after the office." *Hom. in Acts* iii.

bitter trials, laboriously brought upon him by ill-disposed persons in carrying out these plots. You have told us, too, about Porphyrius, and the eunuch of Ephesus.[1] Now tell us the rest. Who died in prison? Which of those in communion with John were banished? It is but common justice that we should hold such men in memory, to encourage the living. In things which belong to earthly life, servants who for their masters' sake suffer imprisonment, or blows, or torture, are rewarded by them with kindness and emancipation; how much more do those deserve honour and good-will from the Church who suffer for the sake of Christ? The apostle says of them, "As prisoners with the prisoners, evil entreated with those that are evil entreated, as being yourselves in the body." [2] For "right dear in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." [3]

The Sufferings of Chrysostom's Adherents

Bish. Excellently spoken. Listen then. At first, a rumour was circulated that the bishops had been thrown into the sea; but the true account shows that they were sent into banishment beyond the boundaries of their native provinces, into barbarian climes, where they are still kept under the guard of the police. A deacon who had been their fellow-traveller told us on his arrival that Cyriacus [4] was at Palmyra, the frontier fort of Persia, eighty miles further inland from Emesa [5]; that Eulysius of Bostra [6] in Arabia was about three days' march away at a fort called Misphas, near the land of the Saracens; Palladius was under guard in the neighbourhood of the Blemmyans,[7]

[1] The Greek may equally well be rendered "Eunuchus of Ephesus." Migne prints the word with a capital, as a proper name. See p. 131, n.

[2] Heb. xiii. 3, freely quoted. [3] Ps. cxvi. 15.

[4] P. 24. [5] On the east bank of the Orontes.

[6] In the oasis of the Syrian desert, south of Damascus.

[7] A turbulent tribe inhabiting the Upper Nile. They invaded the Thebaid about A.D. 450, and were driven into the district between the Nile and the Red Sea, where they are still represented by five tribes, speaking a language of their own.

a tribe of Ethiopians, at a place called Syene;[1] Demetrius was far inland at Oasis—the one in the neighbourhood of the Mazici (there are other Oases)—and that Serapion, accused of countless unproved charges, sustained personal injuries from his savage judges (who went so far, it is said, as to draw his teeth), and was then banished to his own native country.[2]

Hilarius,[3] a holy man, advanced in years, was transported to the innermost Pontus, after being beaten, not by the judge, but by the clergy; a man who for eighteen years had not tasted bread, but lived on nothing but herbs and boiled wheat. Antonius went into voluntary exile among the caves of Palestine; Timotheus of Maroneia,[4] and John of Lydia, are said to be in Macedonia; Rhodon of Asia made his way to Mitylene; Gregory of Lydia is said to be in Phrygia; Brisson, brother of Palladius,[5] of his own free will left his Church, and is living on his own little farm, working the land with his own hands. Lampetius, they say, is being maintained in some place in Lydia, by one Eleutherus, and devoting himself to reading; Eugenius is in his own native country; Elpidius, the great Bishop of Laodicea, and Pappus, have spent three whole years without coming down the house-stairs,[6] in their devotion to prayer. Heracleides of Ephesus has been confined for these four years in the prison of Nicomedeia.

As to the rest of the bishops in communion with John, some lost heart altogether, and communicated with Atticus, and were transferred to other Churches, in

[1] Assuan. Pall., *L. H.*, Intro., "I lived with them in Libya and the Thebaid and Syene."

[2] *i. e.* Egypt. He had fled from Heracleia, and taken refuge among the Goths.

[3] Chrysostom considered his presence in Constantinople of such importance that he wrote to tell him not even to visit his own diocese without his written permission.

[4] In Thrace.

[5] Pall., *L. H.*, lxxi, speaks of "the brother who has been with me from my youth unto this day"; but he is clearly referring to himself. Nothing more is known of Brisson, except that Chrysostom writes two letters to him from Cucusus.

[6] Cf. Pall., *L. H.*, xxx.

Thrace; others are lost to sight. Anatolius is said to be in Gaul.

To turn now to the priests; some were banished to Arabia and Palestine; Tigrius[1] to Mesopotamia. Philip escaped to Pontus, and died; Theophilus is living in Paphlagonia; John, son of Aethrius, founded a monastery in Cæsarea; Stephanus was banished to Arabia, but was taken by the Isaurians out of the hands of the guard, and allowed to go up to the Taurus district. Salustius is said to be in Crete. I understand that Philip the anchorite, priest in charge of the school,[2] is lying sick in Campania. Sophronius the deacon is in prison in the Thebaid; Paul the deacon, the assistant steward, is said to be in Africa; another Paul, deacon of the Church of the Resurrection, is in Jerusalem. Helladius, the presbyter of the palace,[3] is living on his own little farm in Bithynia. A large number are in hiding in Constantinople, others have gone to their own native countries. Silvanus the holy bishop is in Troas, supporting himself by fishing; Stephanus the ascetic was flogged at Constantinople, and thrown into prison for ten months, simply for

[1] He was stripped of his clothes, scourged, tied hand and foot upon the rack, and his limbs disjointed (Sozomen).

[2] Basil (*Reg. Fus.*, xv) urges that education is to be part of the work of monks. The Church had to provide her own education, as an antidote to the material and anti-Christian instruction of the pagan schools and teachers of rhetoric, such as those by whom Chrysostom was taught "letters." The training was to be given free, especially to orphans, and to be such as would prepare the young for the monastic or the ministerial life. Hence no mention of ancient Greek literature is made in his curriculum. We do not know where Philip's "school" was, but there would naturally be one at Constantinople, if only for the training of clergy.

[3] So *D.C.B.* Lit "The presbyter, he of the palace." Migne prints the word with a capital—"the son of Palatius." He may have been a kind of Court chaplain, or the words may refer to his early life. Sozomen mentions a Helladius, Bishop of Cæsarea, whose son had "obtained a splendid commission at the Court." If he bore his father's name, this may be the man. Chrysostom, *Ep.* xiv, asks Olympias to send some important letters by him.

having brought the letters from the Church of Rome.[1] He was offered his freedom, on condition of communicating [with Atticus], and on his refusal had the skin most cruelly torn from his ribs and breast; I myself have seen the marks. However, in the gracious care of Christ his life was preserved, possibly for struggles yet to come, and after ten months of medical treatment he was banished to Pelusium.

A soldier named Provincialus, of the Imperial guard,[2] accused of being a lover of John, was first flogged repeatedly and tortured unmercifully, and then banished to Petræ. A servant of Elpidius the priest accepted a bribe, they say, of fifty pieces of money, to kill the holy John by treachery, but was caught in the attempt with three swords upon his person, and injured seven of his captors one after the other. Four of them were at once buried, and three were under treatment for a long time before they recovered; yet the murderer was acquitted.[3] The blessed Eutropius, undefiled of women, a singer,[4] was terribly flogged, and the skin torn from his ribs and forehead; his eyebrows were torn off, and finally his ribs were laid bare on both sides, and burning oil-lamps placed

[1] There is no previous mention of this messenger; but evidently many letters were sent. Sozomen tells of a famous monk Stephanus, a Libyan, who was living in Mareotis some thirty years before these events.

[2] Lit. "schools"; a late term given to the royal bodyguard.

[3] Sozomen (viii. 21) gives an account of this attempt.

[4] The order of singers seems to have arisen early in the fourth century, owing to the decay of congregational singing. The Council of Laodicea forbids others to sing in the church than the canonical singers, "who go up onto the ambo, and sing out of a book"; though this rule seems soon to have fallen into disuse. They were appointed by the priest, not by the bishop, with the words, "See that thou believest in thy heart what thou singest with thy mouth, and that what thou believest in thy heart, thou prove by thy works." Sozomen tells how Sisinnius (p. 146) was led by a dream to search for the one good man in the city, named Eutropius, and found a reader of that name, who was tortured on the charge of setting fire to the church; probably this man.

against the bones, until he expired upon the rack, and was buried at midnight by the priestly perpetrators of the crime. But God bore witness to his death, by a vision of singers, in token of its likeness to the passion of the Saviour.

The deacon who came back to us from the bishops [1] reported that the prefect's officers in charge of them treated them so badly, in accordance with instructions received from some source or other, that they prayed for death and release from life.

They robbed the bishops of every penny they had for the expenses of the journey, and divided it among themselves; they set them on bare-boned asses, and made a two days' journey into one, going on till late at night, and starting off before it was light in the morning, until their stomachs could not keep down even the meagre food allowed them. They never lost an opportunity of insulting them with foul and disgraceful language. They carried off the servant of Palladius, and compelled him to surrender his ledger. One of those in charge, who had cruelly ill-treated Demetrius, so as to reach Zibyne late in the evening, was racked with pain from head to foot, and died in agony; inspired men recognized this as the punishment for his cruelty. Palladius had told him before, as a fellow-soldier who returned informed us, that "Thou shalt not make another journey, but shalt die in misery." They would not allow them to go near a church, but lodged either in inns, where there were numbers of prostitutes, or in the synagogues of Samaritans or Jews, mostly from Tarsus; where their distress suggested to them a new thought, which had not occurred to them before. Said one of the bishops: [2] "Why should we trouble about our

[1] Palladius now takes up again the story of the Eastern bishops who joined the deputation from Rome (p. 31), whom we last saw at Lampsacus. Hence the detailed account here. The introduction of this "deacon," and the "fellow-soldier" below, is quite in accordance with Palladius' methods in *L. H.*

[2] No doubt Palladius himself.

lodgings? Does it lie with us where to stay, so that we can be responsible, as if we misbehaved ourselves of our own choice? Do you not know, that by all this that has happened, and will happen, God is being glorified in all things? [1] How many of these prostitutes, who have forgotten God, or never had the knowledge of Him, have been brought by the sight of us in this condition to the fear and thought of God, and so perhaps been turned to better things, or at least been kept from plunging into worse? It is no small thing, to a reasonable soul, in a time of suffering, to have even a little respite; we must regard it as a stimulus to self-control. Paul the seer, who himself suffered like us, says: 'We are a sweet savour of Christ among them that are being saved and among them that are perishing, because we have been made a spectacle to angels and to men.'" [2]

The local bishops in communion with Theophilus all over the East went so far in their savage cruelty, that some of them, so far from showing ordinary humanity, actually bribed the officers to get them out of the cities more speedily. The chief offenders in this respect were the Bishops of Tarsus and Antioch, Eulogius,[3] Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, and especially the Bishop of Ancyra, and Ammonius, Bishop of Pelusium, who made the soldiers in charge of them still more savage against them by bribes or by threats, urging them not even to allow those of the laity who wished to do so to give them hospitality.

History Repeats Itself

On similar grounds the blessed John, writing to Gaius, in his Catholic epistles, condemns a certain bishop, but commends the hospitality of Gaius, and exhorts him not to imitate wicked bishops. The words are these: "Unto Gaius the beloved, whom I

[1] Cf. p. 96. [2] 1 Cor. iv. 9; 2 Cor. ii. 15.

[3] Chrysostom, unaware of this, writes to him (*Ep.* lxxxvii.) commending his devotion.

love in truth. Beloved, I pray that in all things thou mayest prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth. For I rejoiced greatly, when some came and declared to me, that thou walkest in truth, and wherein thou didst refresh the saints. I have no greater joy than this." [1] And after this he adds, "I wrote unto the Church; but Diotrephes, who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them, receiveth us not, prating against us with wicked words; and not content therewith, neither doth he himself receive the brethren, and them that would he forbiddeth, and casteth them out of the Church." A little later he gives him the advice, "Beloved, imitate not that which is evil; for he that doeth good is of God; he that doeth evil hath not seen God." [2]

I have quoted this whole passage, relating to the wickedness of by-gone days, to pourtray the mind of the Diotrephes' of to-day.

But (my friend) praised and admired the bishops of the second Cappadocia, for their deep sympathy, even to tears, with the banished bishops; especially the most gentle Theodorus of Tyana, and Bosphorus of Coloneia, a bishop of forty-eight years' standing, and Serapion of Ostracine, who has held the episcopal office for forty-five years.

The Problem of the Prosperity of the Wicked

Long was Theodorus speechless with distress, and at last said—

Deac. What shall we say to all this, father? Can it be that it is the last hour, and the falling away of which Paul speaks is being ushered in by these events, "that the son of perdition, who opposeth, may be revealed"? [3] The thought of the wicked prospering, and succeeding in their aims, and going on for so long, and having such power, while the good are

[1] 3 John 1–4; Philem. 7. [2] 3 John 9–11.
[3] 2 Thess. ii. 3.

being persecuted and pillaged, fills me with dread that this person is near at hand.

The Last Hour

Bish. Very certainly, most intelligent sir, the end is near; as we read, "Little children, it is the last hour;" [1] and "The master of the house went out about the eleventh hour to hire labourers into his vineyard." [2] The last hour is the twelfth; and if the apostle spoke of the last hour four hundred years ago, much more, by all showing, is it the last hour now.[3]

The Test of Suffering

Again, we have to remember that from the first these things have occurred by the permission of the Lord, for the training of the saints; the devil desires to have them, as the word of the Saviour says, "Simon, Simon, Satan asked to have you, that he might sift you as wheat; but I made supplication for thee, that thy faith fail not." [4] Assuredly the Lord did not pray for Simon alone, but for all who have Peter's faith; the sieve can only mean, the circle of earth filled with pleasures and pains, which form, so to speak, holes through which earthly people fall down to hell, separated as dust from nourishing grain by the perforations.

Some pass through the hole of gluttony—those "whose god is their belly"; [5] some through that of love of pleasure, those of whom the prophet speaks, who were "led astray by the spirit of fornication"; [6] for "neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor abusers of themselves, shall inherit the kingdom of God." [7] Others pass through the hole of covetousness—those who have espoused the bride of idolatry; others

[1] 1 John ii. 18. [2] Matt. xx. 6.

[3] So Pall., *L. H.*, liv. 6, "Little children, it was written four hundred years ago, it is the last hour. Why do you love to linger in life's vanities?"

[4] Luke xxii. 31. [5] Phil. iii. 19.

[6] Hos. iv. 12, LXX. [7] 1 Cor. vi. 10.

through that of anger and passion—those who loved bestial darkness, of whom John says, "He that hateth his brother is in darkness until now," [1] for "Anger," says the author of Proverbs, "destroys even the prudent;" [2] others through accidie and forgetfulness, because they do not persevere in sleepless remembrance; whose address to God is, "My heart slept through weariness." [3] "Woe unto you," the word warns them, "who have lost patience, and what will ye do when the Lord shall visit you?" [4] Others pass through the hole of senseless ostentation; of whom the Psalmist declares, "For God hath scattered the bones of the men-pleasers;" [5] others, again, through that of false pretension [6] or pride, which is arrogance. It is these whom the prophet rebukes as deserters—"The proud have transgressed exceedingly, yet have I not swerved from thy law." [7]

Each of these vices is followed by others, worse than itself; pride by envy, covetousness by hatred, and stinginess [8] and lying, passion by anger or revengefulness, insolence, and envyings; [9] fornication by forgetfulness, deadness of conscience,[10] idleness, indifference, unprofitable loss of sleep; vainglory by meddlesomeness, acts of bribery, idle fancies, hypocrisy, respect of persons, deceits; pride by foolish ideas, pitilessness, impiety, folly; and so on. I need not over-weight my argument by giving further illustrations, as what I have said is perfectly clear.

Righteousness Revealed through Trials

To each of these vices God has appointed its contrary virtue; for instance, self-control is opposed to lust, temperance to greediness, justice to covetous-

[1] 1 John ii. 9. [2] Prov. xv. 1. [3] Ps. cxix. 28.
[4] Ecclus. ii. 14. [5] Ps. lii. 6, LXX.
[6] Jas. iv. 16; 1 John ii. 16. [7] Ps. cxix. 51.
[8] In Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.*, iv., 1) one extreme, profligacy being the other, of the series in which liberality is the mean term.
[9] Phthonos, probably in error for Phonos, murder.
[10] Lit. "want of fear."

ness, gentleness to anger, joy to sorrow, mindfulness to forgetfulness, patience to accidie, good sense to folly, courage to cowardice, humility to vainglory, and so on; and to all, holy scripture. Only to pride has He not given its contrary virtue, because of its exceeding viciousness, but has reserved Himself as its contrary, as He said, "God resisteth the proud." [1] So, too, the prophet prays, "Lift up thine hand against their pride, even to the end," [2] and again, "Render to the proud their desert." [3] And just as the tree is known by its fruit (as the Lord says, "By their fruits ye shall know them"),[4] so is each man, whether he be a saint in fact, or only in name.

Scriptural Illustrations

This is why the happiness of the wicked is always long-continued; because God bears long with them. This is always His property; He has told us to expect it, in the part played by the afflicted saints in times past, as an encouragement to us who suffer to-day. Look first at Job, the son of patience; what says he, after much suffering? Mark it well. "As for me, is my reproof of men?" he points to his blamelessness. "Why should I not be impatient? Look unto me, and be astonished, and lay your hand upon your mouth. For if I remember, I am troubled, and pains take hold of my flesh. Wherefore do the wicked live, and become old in riches? Their seed is according to their desire, and their children are before their eyes; their houses prosper, nowhere is fear; the rod of the Lord is not upon them. Their cow casts not her calf; she is preserved from heat; she is with young, and faileth not. They abide as sheep for ever. Their children play, taking the psaltery and harp, and rejoice at the sound of the psalm, they fulfil their life in good things, and they sleep in the rest of Hades. Yet he saith unto God, Depart from me, I desire not to know thy ways." [5]

[1] Jas. iv. 6. [2] Ps. lxxiii. 3, LXX. [3] Ps. xciii. 2.
[4] Matt. vii. 16. [5] Job xxi. 4–14.

David the forbearing, the singer of the divine judgments, uses similar language: "I will sing to thee of mercy and judgment, O Lord." [1] "How good is God to Israel, even unto them that are pure in heart. But my feet were almost shaken; my steps had well-nigh slipped." [2] Why? "For I was stirred at the lawless, when I saw the peace of sinners." And in another passage he inveighs against their wealth, as follows: "Their oxen are fat, their sheep bring forth abundantly, abounding in their streets; their garners are full, affording store from this unto that; their daughters are beautiful, adorned in the likeness of a temple." And he adds, in astonishment at the harmony and peace which they enjoy, "There is no outcry in their streets, nor falling of a fence in their houses." Then he attacks the corrupted opinions of the common herd of men, saying, "They counted as blessed the people who have these things." And he adds, "Blessed is the people whose helper is the Lord God of Jacob." [3]

I must not end my quotations here, or I shall imperil my argument for want of completeness. Hear what Habakkuk says, as he seems to beat his breast in his distress at the same problem: "O Lord, how long shall I cry, suffering wrongfully, and thou wilt not hear?" He calls the wrongs of his neighbour his own; and in his love for his brethren he adds, "I will cry unto thee, and thou wilt not save. Why didst thou show me iniquity, and that I should look upon labours that lead to hardship and impiety? Judgment is against me, and the judge taketh reward. Therefore is the law perverted, and

[1] Ps. c. 1. [2] Ps. lxxii. 1.

[3] Ps. cxliv. 14 ff. The exegesis of the LXX rendering is correct; these are the words of the "strange children, whose sons are . . . their daughters are . . ." etc. R.V. represents the Hebrew by restoring "our" for "their," and translates "who" by "when," with a semicolon only before "Blessed." —"When our sons shall be . . . when . . . no outcry in our streets; Blessed is the people. . . ." Delitzsch considers that some verses have been introduced into the text which do not properly belong to this Psalm.

judgment goeth not forth, unto the end; for the wicked doth oppress the righteous." [1]

In the same spirit Jeremiah, the most sympathetic of the saints, perplexed beyond all other men, cries, "Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I shall plead with thee; yet will I speak judgments unto thee, O Lord. Why doth the way of the wicked prosper? All they that set at nought are at ease; thou didst plant them, and they took root" (this is instead of saying, "they spend their days in profligacy"); "and they bore fruit" (certainly not of the spirit). "Thou art near their mouth, and far from their reins." [2] The prophet Sophonias [3] the wise has a passage to exactly the same effect. He is reproaching men for slandering their neighbours, finding fault with the providence of God,[4] and calling the saints unhappy. "You," he says in the person of the Lord, "made your words stout against me, saith the Lord. And ye said, Wherein did we speak against thee? Ye said, He is vain who serveth God; and what profit, that we kept his charges, and that we walked as suppliants before the Lord Almighty? And now we call strangers happy, and all that work lawless things are built up, and they resisted God, and are delivered. These things spake they that feared the Lord, each one to his neighbour."

Paul, the preacher of piety, adds his testimony to the same truth: "But evil men and impostors shall wax worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived." [5]

[1] Hab. i. 2–4. [2] Jer. xii. 1, 2.

[3] "Sophonias" is the LXX name of Zephaniah (2 Esdr. i. 40). The quotation is really from Mal. iii. 13–16. "Sophos" is the Greek for "wise."

[4] Chrysostom tells of those who denied that Providence extended to all things beneath the moon (*Hom. in Acts* xxviii.). "Does a charitable person meet with disaster? A labourer who receives his food gets less wages at the end; so does the charitable man who receives blessings in this world" (*In 1 Cor.* xliii.). "If you see an evil man prosper, know that he once did some good, and receives his reward here, and loses his claim on that which is to come" (*Or.* lxv.).

[5] 2 Tim. iii. 13.

Then he points out the low esteem in which the saints are held: "For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last of all, as men doomed to death; for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. For even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and have no certain dwelling-place, and labour, working with our own hands" (a description of his bodily sufferings); "being reviled, we bless, being persecuted, we endure, being defamed, we entreat, we are made as the filth of the world, the offscouring of all things even until now."[1] The good and just God spreads the world before us, for certain ineffable reasons, like a race-course; and has given us free will, that we may deal with circumstances according to our own choice, and pay the just penalty for our deeds. As the law says, "I have set before thy face, death and life, choose what thou wilt."[2] Why He set it so, it is not for us to say in this present life; the fact remains, that He has so set it. It would not have been wise for us to be created impeccable,[3] with no struggles before us, and minds not established in righteousness. Impeccability is the attribute of the eternal Godhead alone.

Deac. You have met our difficulty admirably and wisely, father; you have given eyes to the souls of our friends here, who have found this matter a continual perplexity, arising partly from their lack of acquaintance with scripture, partly from the very fact that the Church is throughout the ages appointed as a training school.[4] She points to her victors,

[1] 1 Cor. iv. 9 ff. [2] Ecclus. xv. 18.

[3] It seems as if "or" had here dropped out of the text, or as if "not" had crept in before "established." If we had been created impeccable, we should have needed no trials, because already established in righteousness. This would have made us machines, with no moral virtue. The alternative to this was, for our minds not to be established; then we need trials.

[4] "To-day is the time of wrestling; thou art come to learn how to strive manfully, to take part in every contest.

men and women alike, as not having eaten of the flesh of Christ in times past without paying a price. Yet the disorders among you, and the break-up of the Church, cause us distress.

The Blessedness of Truth Countervails all Suffering

Bish. You astonish me, most honoured of men. You almost unreservedly admit the beneficial results of suffering, and then turn round and say something to the contrary effect. You call us blessed, as victors, and yet you call us miserable, as banished men, because we have been deprived of our Church buildings.[1] You seem to me to be in the same state of mind as the rustic spectators at the Olympic games, who gape with delight at the prizes, but shed tears of pity at the blows exchanged between the combatants. To my mind, it is better to hasten away to ravines, and thickets, and seas, in company with the truth, than to be burdened with falsehood, while enjoying high honour for what is in this life considered prosperity. For if I possess truth, I shall possess all things, for all things are her servants; if I have made falsehood my own, I do not possess even myself, as I am not hers. But if I possess truth, I do not wish to possess her merely as a mistress, or a servant, or a neighbour, but as a sister; nay, if it be possible, as a bride, whose sweetness I may enjoy and presently inherit[2] as my very own wife. For she is the sister of the absolute truth, whose son-in-law the good man is. For he that bears this seal becomes young a second time, grows not old, and

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No man coming to the training school lives in luxury; nor in the time of conflict does he seek for tables" (*Hom. in Mart.*, ii. 799). "Perhaps my flesh deserves chastisement, and it is fitting that it should pay the penalty now, rather than when I have quitted the arena" (Pall., *L. H.*, xxiv.).

[1] Bigot's conj. for "places"; which, however, might refer to "position in the Church," as Acts i. 25, 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

[2] Or possibly, "have as my heir"; the text is uncertain. But the contrast is between the sweetness of the betrothed and the bliss of the married life. Cf. Wisd. viii. 2.

fades not away; he has zeal fiercer than fire, words sharper than swords, life freer than an eagle's; he devotes himself untiringly to meditation upon the scriptures, as to a house-mother; he never ceases to blossom with gladness, he is not overcome by fear, he holds up his head undaunted, he dances in his holy enthusiasm, he hates no man, he pities those who misuse life, he calls blessed those who mind their own business in contentment, he sorrows with the sorrow of the spirit at the careless lives of priests, of whom the apostle said, "Grieve not the Holy Spirit, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption." [1] He it is that grieves the Spirit, who turns his back upon Him in carelessness.

And at last (there is much that I must pass by) in his out-spokenness he dies; he has given pain to none, save to the demons, and to those who are like them. His time has been more than enough; he did not higgle away his days in evil doings. He doubled the money [2] that was given to him, he forwarded interest, of good works, in a short time he fulfilled long years; he makes no will [3] disposing of his property, for by his life and thought he wrestled with it, and gravelled it. Did Death knock at the door of his frail flesh? Before he sees him outside, he cries, Let us go hence, and sings, "Woe is me, that my sojourn has been so long;" [4] and were it not for the Master Who sent him on his mission, he would have served him with a summons, and sued him at law, for coming too late. Well content is he, when at last he is set free from the frail flesh, with its manifold ailments, as if he were leaving a ruinous hostel, threatening to fall; he pricked up his ears at the voice of Him Who says, "Well done, good and faithful servant," [5] confident of hearing the rest as well.

[1] Eph. iv. 30. [2] Bigot conj. "grace."

[3] "A man of great wealth, he wrote no will when he came to die, and left no money to his sisters, but commended them to Christ."—Pall., *L. H.*, i.

[4] Ps. cxx. 5. [5] Matt. xxv. 21.

Take this torrent of words as a proof of my contention; "for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh." [1]

The Misery of Falsehood

But he who dwells with falsehood has a disturbed life; one moment in boundless delight at an addition to his wealth, or to his poor little reputation, or at the friendship of a wretched harlot, or at the misfortunes of his enemies; the next, sick to death with sorrow, dreaming of changes and uncertainties. He passes restless or sleepless nights, he imagines plots made against him by his closest friends, he has no confidence even in himself, and distrusts all men, as liars. Such is he; cowardly as a hare, bold as a pig, deceitful as a chameleon, unreliable as a partridge, pitiless as a wolf, untameable as a mouse; his own enemy, unceasingly jealous, inevitably punishing himself, though he does not know it; for he who is always planning evil against another, first brings evil upon himself.

Did Death prick his skin? He gives away everything, to gain a little respite, so precious is his life to him; the time given him he higgled away to no profit, so far from doubling his penny [2] he did not even keep it safe. He trembles continually, like a leaf, in his dread of the approach of old age; he is troubled with the silly ideas of old men, he fears death as a god; for to him the visible world is God. And what then? He turns pale, he shivers with fright, he is in an agony of distress; he anticipates the judgment of God, and inflicts punishment upon himself. His conscience torments him without mercy, and reminds him of his evil doings one by one, till his sufferings are more terrible than those of criminals under the lash. He grovels like a slave to those in office for the moment,[3] and flatters the world to his disgrace; instead of One Lord he has ten thousand

[1] Matt. xii. 34. [2] Lit. "denarius," Matt. xx. 2,
[3] In contrast with God's eternity. Cf. p. 134.

masters, to save himself from being the servant of the truth. He does all he can to get himself feared, yet he himself fears every one.

The Decision of the Church of Rome

I will say no more; I have done all I can. If any one can speak more truthfully or elegantly, and put my nothingness right, I will gladly welcome him as a corrector of error and a lover of the brethren, and give thanks to the Saviour for all things.[1] Now do you in return give me an account of the decision of the western synod, and set the seal upon my words, if they commended themselves to you as being of any value. So the narrator ceased, and Theodorus said—

Deac. The Lord grant to you who have given us this narrative, to find mercy in that day,[2] for your refusal to hold communion with such people, and for the clear account you have given us. And may the Lord remember every sacrifice of John, because he surrendered not his out-spokenness, even unto death. The decision of the Church of Rome was, under no circumstances to communicate with the eastern bishops, especially with Theophilus, until the Lord grants the opportunity for an ecumenical synod,[3] to heal the putrefied limbs of the men guilty of these crimes. For though the blessed John has fallen asleep, yet the truth is awake, and for the truth search will be made.

[1] Cf. p. 96. [2] 2 Tim. i. 18.

[3] Sozomen says only that Innocent in his letter to the clergy of Constantinople urged the need of an inquiry by an ecumenical synod, and that after Chrysostom's exile he sent five bishops and two priests of the Church of Rome, with the deputation of eastern bishops, to Honorius and Arcadius, to ask for a synod, and for place and time to be fixed. There seems to be no record of any decision of a western synod. But it is very possible that the "Home Synod" (p. 117, n.) might pass such a resolution without records having survived. The passage is considered by some to be against the authorship of Palladius, as Theophilus died in 412. But how could the deacon be represented as knowing of it, directly after Chrysostom's death (p. 33)?

Chrysostom's Enemies Interrogated

As for those that have committed these offences in the Church, gladly would I meet them face to face, and ask them, Where is your priesthood? Where is the holiness required of you? Where is the gentleness and unselfishness[1] of the Christian character? Where are the commandments of the Saviour—"If thou art offering thy gift, and rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother, and so offer thy gift"?[2] Where is that saying, "If any man smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also"?[3] Where is your meditation upon the scriptures? What of the verse, "Behold, what is beautiful, and what is pleasant, but for brethren to dwell together in unity"?[4] Or, "Let brothers be helpful in times of necessity"?[5] Why have you perverted by your actions the words, "A brother helped by a brother, is as a strong city"?[6] A brother falsely accused, or robbed, by a brother, is like a city distressed and defenceless. Why in the world then did you, who are wretched, nay, wretched to the third degree, try to carry through this project of yours, as if no reconciliation were possible?[7] On what principle did you let your murderous rage against John run its course, as if he were your enemy? And how has it come to you, to be so savage towards one another? Why did you let the world see such an extraordinary change in you, from gentleness to ungentleness and savagery? I am amazed, indeed, I am overwhelmed with amazement at your perversion; as I see everything thrown into this hopeless state of confusion.

And why have you so far exalted yourselves in your daring, as to insult this suckling, nursing

[1] 1 Tim. vi. 18, "ready to communicate."
[2] Matt. v. 23. [3] Matt. v. 39. [4] Ps. cxxxii. 1.
[5] Prov. xvii. 17, LXX. [6] Prov. xviii. 19, LXX.
[7] For this use of "unmixed," cf. Euseb., *V. C.*, iii. 23, Soz. viii. 3.

mother, this teeming womb, the Church of God, and hack her in pieces? In you is fulfilled the prophet's words, "Because they did pursue their brother with the sword, and brought to destruction the womb upon the earth." [1] With this womb the divine and saving Word combined, to sow and to plant you and John alike, for good and profitable works without number. What has happened to you that instead of helping one another to do your duty, you have made up your mind that you will not keep quiet, and live at peace, even in the future? You were created for mutual service; why did you mishandle the grace of God, and instead of lightening other men's burdens, actually thrust them away from you, and cut them off from their own kindred? while the prophet cries to you, "Have we not all one Father? Did not One God create us?" [2]

The Real Law-Breakers

But you will tell me that John sinned against the law. What law? The law which you trod underfoot, and shivered into fragments by your wickedness. Where, then, is the law of nature, which bids us to right wrongs with gentleness? Why, pray, do you abuse even the law which holds between enemies, and persecute them, and carry out these schemes which you devise against them, schemes bearing all the marks of hostility? How much better would it have been, to live in harmony with them, and to share their life; to join with one another in counsels for the common good, unto rendering of thanks and well-pleasing of the Father of you all? Harmony in their enjoyment of blessings is one of the virtues of children; and this is specially acceptable to their parents, who look for nothing else from their offspring, save this. And be assured that there is no other bond of friendship and goodwill, but to be in earnest, and to do everything as it is well-pleasing to the

[1] Amos i. 11, LXX. [2] Mal. ii. 10.

Father, to Him Who is the source of our being, of our sustenance, of our preservation.

The Divine Vengeance in Store

But you have despised Him as a fool, and kindled wars within the Church, as the prophet said, "They established madness in the Lord's house;" [1] instead of spurring and urging one another forward. More, you have carried on truceless wars among one another, contrary to [2] the mind and purpose of the Father. I will go further, and say, that the thing sorely maddens, and stirs to wrath, even God Himself, and all who draw nigh to Him—His sons, your brethren—and suffers Him not to hold His peace. For He is not neglectful, or unmindful of the welfare of His children.

Therefore is He wroth at your folly, and at your tyrannical oppression of those whom you wrong; and therefore He judges it not right to pass you over without punishing you, as indeed He has begun to do. For this would not be becoming in Him, nor would it be without peril to you; your complaint is intolerable, and needs more than ordinary treatment. He sees you actually the worse for bruises, and weals without number, the result of your chastisement. Yes, a cloud of senseless and most obdurate wrong rests upon you, your brothers, your kinsfolk, and your households, even your allies, those who share with you bed and board, those who are bound to you by the closest ties of blood—all these relationships you have perverted into the bitterest hatred; insomuch that they are expelled from their own countries and from their family hearths, and wander far away, without a city or a home to dwell in. Further yet, you have made them exiles, so far as it was in your power, and that, not with a limit of time fixed for their exile, but for ever, so far as it lay with you; so savage were you, so desperately thrown off your balance.

[1] Hos. ix. 8.

[2] The text has "according to"; which is clearly wrong.

Chrysostom the Blessed

This is what you have gained by your victory over them, and the blessed John; by fanning your spiteful enmity, and letting your tongue run wild against him, like a sharpened sword. Instead of profitable instruction, you nurse your ill-temper, and pour out upon the Church your false accusations, defiling the ears of those who hear them; accusations against men to whom the Lord in mercy and loving-kindness will give according to their works. But for you, O blessed John, with what words shall I weave you an unfading crown? I need not fear to praise you now, as you have passed from the field of combat, the fiercest waves of struggle breasted. Shall they be the words of the law of Moses, which he used in the blessing of Joseph the strenuous, and Levi the contemplative, the priest? For in you I see both of these. "Blessed of the Lord be his land, and from the mountains of heaven, and dew, and abysses of springs beneath, and in the time of fruits, the turnings of the sun and the comings together of the months, from the heads of the mountains which are from the beginning, and from the heads of the everlasting hills; they shall be on the head of Joseph" (and every man who shall be as Joseph) "and upon the head of the brethren whom he ruled, glorified among his brethren as the first-born.[1] The beauty of a bull are his horns, his horns are the horns of an unicorn; with them he shall push the nation, even unto the end of the earth."

And to Levi he said (and to whosoever imitates him), "Give to Levi his signs, and his truth to the holy man, whom they tried in trial, and reviled at the water of contradiction. Who saith to his father and mother, I have not seen thee, neither did he acknowledge his brethren, he observed thine oracles, and kept thy covenant; he showed thy judgments to

[1] We have no MS. support for this punctuation; which can hardly be due to a slip of the memory.

Jacob, and thy law to Israel. He shall ever place incense upon thine altar upon thy feast day. Bless, Lord, his strength, and accept the works of his hands; smite the eyebrow of the enemies that rise up against him, and let them that hate him rise not up again." [1] And I would weave with these one word more: "Let them that love him, O Jesus Christ, be not ashamed; for Thine is the power for ever. Amen."

Bish. This is the constant effort of your understanding mind, Theodorus, seeker of noble thoughts, to bring forth from the treasure of your mind, as the Saviour said, "Things new and old;" [2] things old, the lessons of human wisdom; things new, the oracles of the Holy Spirit. From these treasures you have given its due to each side of his character. It was worthy of your sound judgment to express yourself in language so well suited to the offences committed, and to weave from the blessing of Moses the crown John deserves; who served as a priest without thought of self, and in his extraordinary righteousness did indeed know not father or mother, or ties of blood, but only those who love, and practise, the word of God. But those who in our time profess to be bishops, have run their muddy breed aground upon money-getting, and military operations, and high position; transgressing the law which says, "The priests shall not give their sons to be rulers, and them that run beside the king," [3] while they waste the things of the spirit upon plots, and vexations, and imprisonments, and banishments, drinking madness undiluted; thinking by these methods to dishonour the friends of virtue.

The Curse of Ambition

Of them the Saviour said, "The days shall come, in which they who kill you will think that they do God service." [4] I take it that He did not speak of Gen-

[1] Deut. xxxiii. 13–17, 8–11.
[2] Matt. xiii. 52.
[3] A reminiscence of Lev. xviii. 21, LXX.
[4] John xvi. 2 (freely).

tiles, for then He would have said "gods," as they profess not one, but many, gods; when He made mention of the One and Only God, He pointed to those who are now despoiling us, under pretence of benefit to the Church. They hide their own depravity and jealousy, representing themselves in words as concerned for the welfare of the Church which they have ruinéd by their deeds. But however clever they are, the outcome of events will prove them to have been underlings of him who boasted, "I shall never be shaken from generation to generation, without evil." [1] For the serpent, the deviser of lawlessness and cultivator of the vilest covetousness, as he could devise no more novel form of heresy, goaded those in authority in the Church to mutual destruction, to satisfy their craving for high position, and the highest position of all; [2] for the sake of these they rent the Church in twain.

The Satanic Work of Chrysostom's Enemies

For if the harmony of God the Spirit had existed among the bishops, and John deserved deprivation from his office, whether for causing wrong-doing, or as being unworthy of the priesthood, or, as Theophilus maintains, as being guilty of pride; the all-powerful wisdom of God [3] was well able to debar him from the exercise of the priesthood by constitutional restraints, or devise means by which he could be expelled without all this confusion and lamentation, whether by death, or by paralysis, or by loss of voice—as we know some of those who have thrown themselves against him have suffered, and others will suffer. But seeing that the steps taken against him were unworthy of the Saviour—he was not deposed, but exiled [4]—it is

[1] Ps. x. 6.

[2] "Philocathedria." Formed ("phil—" as in "Theophilus," p. 142) like "Protocathedria" ("protos," "first"), the word in St. Matt. xxiii. 6; "cathedra" being used in Church language for the "seat" or "cathedral chair" of a bishop.

[3] Cf. Wisd. xi. 17, xii. 9.

[4] *i. e.* by the civil authorities.

abundantly clear that it was the work of the devil, whose kingdom was being destroyed by John's teaching. I know that John deservedly deposed from their office six persons, of whom I spoke earlier, for buying the dignity of the priesthood. Who wept then? Whose nose bled? What spider's web was broken? Who left his home? Who was fined a farthing? Who in the whole of Asia—vagabond, mob orator, farm-labourer, cobbler, or plebeian—was not glad at what had been done to vindicate the sacred laws? "How," each cried, "are thy works magnified, O Lord? In wisdom didst thou do them all."[1] For where God is at work, all is done in wisdom; where the malevolent demon, everything is correspondently done in unwisdom. And upon unwisdom follow monstrous evils—envyings, murders, strife, emulations, evil tempers, quarrels, discord, noise, conspiracies of ignorant men, hot-headed actions of men in authority, crucifixions, tortures, burnings, streams of blood, intolerable fines, stakes, breaches of the divine ordinances, contempt of law, rejection of self-control, world-wide schism, watch set upon land and sea, engines employed on shipboard, on horseback, on foot, to hinder those who travel for the truth's sake.

God had not Forgotten

How then can they dare to say, John was expelled in the dispensation of God? I ask those who use such words, Was the all-powerful wisdom of God, as I said, without resource to stop John, if he was unworthy, by unseen power? Or to persuade those who disagreed with him, patiently to bear with his action, without all this exercise of force by the magistrates? For if God is the same God Who worked with Moses for the freedom and obedience of Israel, when Pharaoh openly cried, "I know not God, and I will not let the people go,"[2] how, in dealing with

[1] Ps. ciii. 24. [2] Ex. v. 2.

John, did He need the help of earthly magistrates? He had grown old, I suppose, or weak, or resourceless. And was He Who brought to light the adulteries of some, the unnatural crimes of others, and again the impostures of others, now without resource to convict John? Or again, He Who made the tongue of a man to swell with constriction, until he had to make his confession in writing, and allowed another to meet with his death from a sudden seizure; He Who tormented another with a brood of worms, as he lay speechless upon his bed for nearly a whole year, or laid upon another unspeakable horrors from chronic gout, or burnt the legs of another, because He so willed; or Who prematurely snatched away another, whom every one knows, by a nauseating death; was He too weak, as you assert, in the case of John, if he was a sacrilegious man, to do any of these things, but was in need of so and so, before He could expel John in disgrace, and thereby add to His glory?

God will Recompense

No. They deceive themselves, in their ignorance [1] of the command of the word of God. For he cannot properly be called sacrilegious, who distributed to the poor gold, and silver, and fabrics of silk, the food of moths [2]; but he who for money and reputation and the pleasures of the table sells the teachings and ordinances of the Saviour; and after him, he who ruins a holy man, adorned by his life and words, through whom, as by a chalice or a piece of plate, the Saviour oft gave the drink of the word, the diet [3] of their salvation, to those who love the word of God. No, let them be called sacrilegious, who have sacrilegiously robbed the apostolic Church, and

[1] Bigot supplies this word, which is not in the MSS.

[2] Matt. vi. 19. "Do you boast of your silken robes? They are the spinnings of worms, the inventions of barbarians."—Chr., *Or.*, lxxi.

[3] A medical term.

deprived her of such teachers, and who sell ordinations for money; whom divine justice will pursue, to correct their wickedness. For if those who corrupted the law of Moses were for their wanton heedlessness driven out of the temple by the Saviour with a scourge, a scourge of cords, because they were selling doves within it; what punishment shall they have, who higgle the priesthood of the New Testament, except to be shattered by the Chief Shepherd with His rod of iron? As the apostle says, "A man that hath set at nought Moses' law dieth without compassion on the word of two or three witnesses. Of how much sorer punishment, think ye, shall he be judged worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite to the spirit of grace? For we know him who saith, Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God." [1]

May God, Who glorified this holy man, this saintly shepherd, this lamp of righteousness, grant to us to find part and lot with him, in His awful day of righteous judgment; to Whom belongs glory, honour, majesty, and magnificence, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, now and ever, and unto all ages. Amen.

[1] Heb. x. 28–31.

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KEY-WORDS TO PARALLEL PHRASES AND EXPRESSIONS

	Dial. (Ed. Migne)	Laus. Hist. (Ed. Butler)
ἀβαρής . . .	60 c	32. 12
Ἀθανάσιος . .	31 d	158. 5
ἄθλιος . . .	78 f	20. 13
αἰδοῦμαι . . .	61 e	16. 3
αἰσχύνομαι . .	25 e	43. 7
ἀλήθεια . . .	77 b	81. 11
ἅμα	5 a, 24 a, 71 e, etc.	32. 16
Ἀμμώνιος . . .	59 b	34. 15
ἀνδρεῖος . . .	(56 a), 60 b	128. 1
ἀνεμόφθορος . .	53 d	140. 11
ἄνθρωπος, ἡ . .	60 e	161. 9
ἀντιπράττω . .	16 c, 41 c	49. 21
ἀξίωμα . . .	17 a, 39 e	134. 3
ἀπό	51 d	19. 19
ἀποδημία . . .	8 d, 49 d	11. 12
ἄροτρον . . .	59 f	104. 4
Αὐγουστάλιος . .	24 a	134. 16
βλαβή . . .	70 a	14. 14
γραφικός . . .	6 a, 39 a, 67 d	32. 1, 36. 14
*γυναικοιέραξ . .	44 c	161. 14
Δανιήλ . . .	30 c	58. 1
δῆθεν . . .	6 e, 10 d, 21 d, etc.	42. 8, 20
διαθήκη . . .	77 d	16. 10
διασκορπίζω . .	61 a	38. 3, 150. 6
διηγέομαι . . .	59 d (71 c) 72 d, 73 b	19. 22, 21. 3, 46. 13
διορατικός . . .	54 c	44. 8

* This word apparently does not occur elsewhere in Greek literature.

	Dial. (Ed. Migne)	Laus. Hist. (Ed. Butler)
ἐγκύκλιος	52 c	64. 9, 152. 8
εἴ τις	54 c, etc.	34. 9
εἰ ἐβούλετο	60 e	155. 17
εἰσφρέω	51 f	9. 9
ἐλευθέρα	27 c	44. 28
ἐμβάλλω	10 c	146. 20
ἐμός	60 c	146. 4
ἐντυγχάνω	66 f	80. 17
ἔξοδος	80 b	78. 15
ἐξυφαίνω	6 b	146. 3
ἐπανθέω	32 b	14. 20
ἐπισκοπέω	32 d	104. 8
ἐργαστήριον	20 b, 59 a	161. 15
εὐλογία	45 e	79. 18
εὐχάριστος	37 g	141. 12
εὔχομαι	53 a	115. 15
θαρρέω	13 a, 51 b	75. 9, 99. 4, 158. 9
Ἱέραξ	59 d	69. 17
ἱλιγγιάω	32 a	42. 15
Ἰσίδωρος	22 a, 23 a	15. 9, 16. 6
κάλλιστα	26 d, 36 c	59. 13
καλογήρως	13 f, 55 b	53. 8, 102. 15 (56. 16)
καρτερέω	59 e	21. 17, 58. 8
κατάστασις	19 d, f	91. 4
κεντρῶς	13 f	25. 13
κλίμαξ	71 f	86. 9
Κορίνθιοι	66 f	79. 2
κοσμέω	59 d, 60 e, etc.	15. 8, 19. 25
κύριος	40 d	41. 17
τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον	56 b	82. 6
λιπαρεω	22 e	18. 16
μάρτυς	38 b	154. 9
μέλισσα	27 f	142. 20
μισόκαλος	16 e (38 a), 81 d	9. 7
μνηστεύομαι	19 b, 37 a	86. 6, 160.
νομοθέτης	62 f	93. 2
ξενόδοχος	22 a	15. 9

	Dial. (Ed. Migne)	Laus. Hist. (Ed. Butler)
ὁδός	40 b	13. 7
οἶμαι	7 e	102. 9
Ὀλυμπιάς	56 a, 60 c, d	150. 3, 5
ὄμνυμι	67 e	29. 12
ὁμολογέω	39 b, 56 g, etc.	22. 16
ὀνειδίζω	57 d	12. 30
οὖν	24 c, 25 b, 34, d, e	*passim*
παρά	45 c, 51 d	86. 11, 157. 1
παρασκευάζω	23 f, 25 d, 49 d, etc.	20. 9, 79. 6
παρεδρεύω	18 d	136. 21
παριπτεύω	13 a, 58 c	23. 25
περιπίπτω	82 b	16. 25, 78. 2
περίστασις	32 b, 56 b	14. 3, 59. 17
πλεῖστον	54 b, 68 b	7. 11
πλύνω	10 a	65. 8
πολία	17 a, f, 31 f	14. 12
πρᾶγμα	6 d, 35 d, 39 f, etc.	83. 7, etc.
προέχω	19 d, 32 a	103. 1, 117. 1, 132. 12
ῥῖγος	59 b	34. 15
σεμνολόγημα	44 b	150. 9
σοφίζομαι	6 e	23. 10
συγκροτέω	22 d (72 a)	165. 20
συκοφαντέω	13 c, 55 b	97. 9
συναναστρέφω	58 c	10. 4
* συνασμενισμός	69 c	163. 7
συντείνω	40 d (47 f)	83. 5, 116. 4
σφριγάω	18 e	16. 16, 119. 12
ταριχεύω	58 f (82 b)	119. 17, 143. 9
τετρακόσιος	74 b	147. 11
τημελέω	18 e	78. 4
ὑπερβολή	27 g, 31 b, 60 a, etc.	32. 20, 58. 6, 153. 15
ὑπόθεσις	44 d, 45 c	40. 3, 80. 20
φαντασία	58 e	75. 2
φιλομαθής	51 f	9. 12, 11. 4
φρονέω	18 e	117. 10, 153. 6
χρέος	5 d	155. 2

* This word apparently does not occur elsewhere in Greek literature. Abbott Butler in his *J. T. S.* article (p. xxiv, n.) gives three more close parallels.

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